NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. C.

JULY, 1838.

ART. I. — 1. *The Statutes of Ohio and of the North Western Territory, adopted or enacted from* 1788 *to* 1833, *inclusive; together with the Ordinance of* 1787. Edited by SALMON P. CHASE. Cincinnati: 1833–4–5. Three volumes, large octavo.

2. *The Ohio Gazetteer and Traveller's Guide; containing a Description of the several Towns, Townships, and Counties, with their Water Courses, Roads, Improvements, Mineral Productions,* &c. &c. First revised Edition. By WARREN JENKINS. Columbus: 1837. 12mo. pp. 546.

"A LITTLE after eleven o'clock, on the night following our elections in this place," says a letter from Cincinnati, written in October, 1837, "I was called to the door by a very vigorous rapping. It was some one in great haste to know the result of the day's work, and who had mistaken our house for the one in which the votes were to be counted. After directing him aright, I threw the door open a little wider, that I might see what young patriot this was, that so keenly desired to know the state of parties. The light of the hall lamp fell full on his face. It was Hezekiah Flint, one of the first band of white men, that ever came to reside in the wilds of Ohio."

Such facts are startling. In the stranger to Ohio history,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it requires an effort of imagination, to conceive of one of the founders of that great and populous State, as still an active and strong man, out at midnight to learn the result of an election. But a few facts and a little thought do away the wonder; for it was but fifty years, last April, since the first band of white residents entered what now forms the State of Ohio; and every one of the many men of seventy, yet vigorous and stirring, was entering into busy life, when the plain upon which Cincinnati is built was sold for less than fifty silver dollars!

Nor is this growth surprising, except that it is without precedent. The causes fully explain the result. Land so cheap, and labor so high, that a day's work would buy an acre; titles direct from government; a climate temperate and healthful; and, above all, a national compact, forbidding slavery, securing civil and religious freedom, and all those privileges that others had struggled for through ages of blood and turmoil, — these were mighty inducements to the worn soldiers and impoverished yeomen of Massachusetts and New Jersey. Never, since the golden age of the poets, did that song, of which Mr. Butler makes mention in his History of Kentucky, "the syren song of peace and of farming," reach so many ears, and gladden so many hearts, as after Wayne's treaty at Greenville in 1795. "The Ohio" seemed to be, literally, a land flowing with milk and honey. The farmer wrote home, of a soil "richer to appearance than can possibly be made by art"; of "plains and meadows, without the labor of hands, sufficient to support millions of cattle summer and winter"; of wheat lands, that "will, I think, vie with the island of Sicily";* and of bogs, from which might be gathered cranberries enough to make tarts for all New England; while the lawyer said, that, as he rode the circuit, his horse's legs were dyed to the knee with the juice of the wild strawberry. At that time the dreadful fevers of 1807 and 1822 were not dreamed of; the administration of Washington had healed the divisions among the States; the victory of Wayne had brought to terms the dreaded savages; and, as the dweller upon the barren shore of the Atlantic remembered these things, and the wonderful fact, in addition, that the inland garden to which he was invited was crossed

* Written in 1786; *Secret Journals of Congress*, Vol. IV. p. 322.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in every direction by streams, even then counted on as affording means for free commercial intercourse, and that it possessed, beside, nearly seven hundred miles of river and lake coast, the inducements for emigration became too strong to be resisted; the wagon was tinkered up at once, the harness patched anew, and a few weeks found the fortune-seeker looking down from the Chesnut Ridge, or Laurel Hill, upon the far-reaching forests of the West.

But, should the inquirer turn from the bare fact of Ohio's growth, and a view of the great causes which have produced it, and ask a detail of the operation of those causes, we are forced to tell him, that even the *annals* of that State are still to be compiled. A philosophical history cannot be yet looked for. The great movement which has begun at the West, the men of this day cannot see the scope or end of. They can but note down what passes before them from hour to hour, as the astronomers of old noted the motions of the sun and stars; in the hope that, by and by, a political Copernicus and Newton may come, who will reduce their seeming discords to harmony, and, amid apparent chaos, show order and beauty.

Even the labor of collecting historical materials has but now begun. The first effort of importance was made by the Historical Society of the State last December, and that will avail nothing unless followed up by strong and persevering action. Of individual effort nothing is worth notice except Mr. Chase's three volumes, containing the whole body of statute law, beginning in 1788 and extending to 1833, prefaced by a sketch of the State history. This work may rank first among the materials for the future historian, as the legislation of a democratic community is the best permanent exponent of its character; and, but for the compiler of these volumes, portions of even the legislation of this young land would, probably, soon have been lost. "It was absolutely impossible," says Mr. Chase, "to procure a complete set of the territorial laws. Of the laws of 1792 but a single copy is known to have existed in the State. The State library contained none, and none remained among the rolls in the office of the Secretary;* and those that have written mere local and partial sketches have done it too often carelessly, and have produced a strange confusion

* Chase, *Statutes*, Vol. I. p. 5.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED.

respecting many recent facts, some of which we shall have occasion to mention further, by and by. Mr. Butler, whose general care and accuracy we have had occasion to praise heretofore, has made some blunders, through sheer heedlessness in copying, — as where he quotes Sparks's account of Gist's journey down the Ohio in 1751, and substitutes *Scioto* for *Miami*, and *November* for *February*; * and even Mr. Chase, by following Blunt's "Historical Sketch," (which, by the way, he refers to erroneously, as an Appendix to the *American Annual Register* of 1825–6, † it having been bound up with that volume, though published two years before, and to be had without it,) instead of consulting the Journals of Congress, has been betrayed into one or two very erroneous statements; while Messrs. Flint and Hall, the two writers whose beauty of description and ease of style will attract most readers, are peculiarly open to the charge of carelessness.

One instance of this occurs with regard to La Salle's second voyage to the Mississippi, in 1683, in which year that most persevering man went from Canada, down the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, to the Gulf of Mexico. Mr. Flint, speaking of this voyage, tells us, that La Salle on his way down, founded the towns of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, ‡ left them in charge of Tonti, and then returned to Canada; § while Mr. Hall quotes a Monsieur Jontel, to show that he landed at the mouth of the Mississippi in 1683, and ascended that river. ‖ From what source Mr. Flint drew his information we know not; but the writer referred to by Mr. Hall, (and whose name was Joutel not Jontel,) was the chronicler

* Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 37, 480. — Butler's *History*, Introd. p. xxiv. — The same error occurs in his *Western Chronology*.

† *Statutes*, Vol. I. pp. 10, 11, &c.

‡ Holmes (*Annals*, Vol. I. p 487) quotes *American State Papers*, Vol. XI. p. 35, for the settlement of Kaskaskia, in 1703. The reference should be to Vol. XII.; but the authority is of little weight; the assertion respecting the settlement of that town being in a note to the American Secretary of State, from Onis, the Spanish minister; the historical blunders of which note are pointed out in the reply of Mr. Adams, referred to in the text. But there is no reason to think that La Salle ever heard of the places named by Mr. Flint. Neither Tonti, nor Joutel, who went up the Mississippi after La Salle's death, mention them, and the place of which La Salle gave to the former the command was Fort St. Louis, upon the Illinois.

§ *Indian Wars of the West*, p. 22.

‖ *Western Sketches*, Vol. I. p. 141. This passage, and most of that division of the volume in which it occurs, are reprinted from the *Illinois Magazine* for 1831 – 2.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of La Salle's last voyage, which brought him to the mainland of America in February, 1685. Had these writers consulted even Holmes's *Annals*, (which were published before the works in which these errors occur,) they could not have made the mistakes in question; but (and it is a curious fact) neither Flint, Hall, Holmes, nor Butler, refers, when speaking of La Salle, to the detailed account of that leader's adventures drawn up by the Chevalier Tonti, his lieutenant, and by him presented to the King of France; which account was translated and published in London, in 1698, and the translation reprinted entire in the Collections of the New York Historical Society for 1814; and the main facts again republished, with other valuable matters relating to the West, in a note from J. Q. Adams to the Spanish minister, in the twelfth volume of "American State Papers," in 1819.

A still more glaring case of carelessness, and one that may well excite a smile, occurs in the first volume of Mr. Hall's *Sketches*, (page 188,) where he enters into a learned discussion with regard to the probable reasons which governed those who planned the defences of old Fort Pitt; and concludes, that they must have been either led away by their military habits, in opposition to the dictates of prudence, or wished to awe the Indians by the show of unreal power; all which argument is based upon the idea, that "in those days there was little or no artillery west of the mountains."* But Washington's Journal, in 1753, speaks of eight pieces of cannon at the fort on French Creek, which he visited; and Holmes could have informed Mr. Hall, that the fort, which the English had begun at the Fork of the Ohio,† was taken by the French, on the 17th of April 1754, with

* All this passage is a reprint of part of the second of a series of "Letters from the West," written by Mr. Hall in 1820 for the *Portfolio*, and reprinted in a volume in London, 1828. We have no fault to find with Mr. Hall for reprinting his Magazine writings in his "Sketches," as he has, in the Preface, stated the fact, that his volumes are compiled, not written anew. But we do think that one, who claims to be thought high authority, is blamable for reprinting periodical articles of an historical kind, in a permanent form, without revision and correction; particularly after having been so often ridiculed for his disquisition upon the word *chute* (*Letters from the West*, p. 185); which he was very much puzzled by, though, apparently (see those Letters, p. 197, &c.) an adept in French.

† Holmes's *Annals*, (Vol. II. p. 53,) and Marshall's *Life of Washington*, (last edition, Vol. I. p. 4,) speak of this fort, as on "the southern branch of the Ohio," and as in possession of workmen employed by the Ohio Company; but Washington's letters (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 1, 6) show it to have been at "the fork," and in possession of Virginia troops.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eighteen pieces; and that Braddock's advance, of twelve hundred men, carried to their field of defeat ten pieces; while honest Frederic Post could have told him, that, on the 3d of December, 1758, after Forbes had taken Fort Du Quesne, his party was greeted by its garrison "with twelve great guns." *

We mention these errors not from the mere love of fault-finding, — the pleasures of which, however, neither critic nor gossip can dispute, — but because we think entire accuracy desirable, even in small matters, while it can yet be arrived at without long study. On this ground we shall notice whatever mistakes come in our way, and, where we err ourselves, trust that we may find a corrector in our turn.

From what we have said, it must be evident, that, although the completion of the first half-century, since the settlement of Ohio, makes a notice of its progress natural and proper at this time, any thing like a complete view of that progress must be out of the question. Had we the materials, they could not properly be presented in a general sketch; and a critical examination could embrace, at any one time, in a work of this kind, but a small portion of the century and a half, elapsed since the first Europeans visited the Ohio valley. We shall, therefore, speak principally of the results, giving such details only as are least accessible and most interesting.

There were a few events, connected with Ohio, previous to the Revolution, which had a bearing upon her present condition. One was, the rejection by France, in 1755, of the offer, made by England, to give up all her claim to the territory west of a line drawn from the mouth of French Creek, † twenty leagues up that stream toward Lake Erie, and from the same point direct to the last mountains of Virginia which descend toward the ocean. ‡ The Indians between this line and the Mississippi were to be considered

* Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. Appendix. Fort Du Quesne was taken November 25th.

† The spot where Franklin, Venango County, Pennsylvania, now stands. — French Creek was in those times called by the French, *Rivière aux Bœufs*; and by the English, *Beef River* and *Buffalo River*. — The Alleghany was called sometimes by that name, sometimes *Ohio*; Washington, in his Journal of 1753, uses both. French Creek was used by the French as their great thoroughfare to the Ohio.

‡ *Secret Journals of Congress*, Vol. IV. p. 74.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

independent; but France was to retain Canada, and her settlements on the Illinois and Wabash. Had this offer been accepted, there is little doubt, from the ability always shown by the French in the management of the Indians, that their colonies would have been planted upon the Scioto, the Miami, and the Maumee; so that, even though the country had finally come under the control of the British colonists, it would have borne the marks of French manners, prejudices, and habits. Another event worthy of notice (we omit the war of 1756, as too well known to need comment,) was the proclamation of the King in 1763, after the treaty of Paris, forbidding his governors in America to grant any warrants of survey or patents "for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the west or northwest"; or upon any lands not ceded by the Indians.* The effect of this proclamation was to prevent all attempts to settle any part of what now forms the State of Ohio; which, had it been done by Virginia (within whose charter the Northwest Territory was thought to lie), would have been accompanied, probably, by the introduction of slavery; and at any rate by a tinge of monarchical feelings and ways of thought, that, in the twelve years which elapsed before the Revolution, might have obtained some foothold in that territory.

In this manner, the soil of Ohio remained wholly untouched by Europeans until the Revolution. And, during that struggle, it was preserved from settlement by the contest which arose among the States with reference to the ownership of the vacant lands; slavery being thus again prevented from entering its bounds, and the less worthy and moral kept back, until the settlers of Marietta and Cincinnati had given somewhat of a character to the population. Nor was this all; for, when Jefferson's proposal to exclude slavery from the Northwest Territory after 1800 was defeated, it was so by the favorers of slavery, all the free States voting for it; and yet it was to that defeat, that its *total* exclusion was owing, three years later. †— Thus was the State, of which we write, reserved, apparently, until all was ripe, to try within her limits the experiment of dem-

* *Land Laws*, p. 84.

† See *Old Journals*, Vol. IV. p. 373. — Dane's *Abridgment* (Supplement), Vol. IV. Appendix, Note A.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ocratic institutions, originating under the most favorable circumstances. The first men, that trod her soil as citizens, were soldiers of the Revolution; the companions and friends of Washington; and they went to a land which could, when they entered it, bear up, as it has been said, no other than freemen.

The first step, that was taken towards settling the Northwest Territory, was by the presentation of a memorial to Congress, from the officers and soldiers of the revolutionary army, entitled to land-bounties under the Resolves of September 16th, 1776, and August 12th, 1780. * This memorial was forwarded to General Washington by Rufus Putnam, upon the 16th of June, 1783; and by him was transmitted to the President of Congress, together with General Putnam's letter, which gave at length his views respecting the settlement of the western country, and the location of military posts there. † But at that time the final grants of Virginia, Connecticut, and Massachusetts had not been made; and the Federal legislature, upon the 29th of October, 1783, having under consideration a memorial from General Armand, resolved, that, much as they desired to fulfil their engagements to the officers of the army, they could not, at that time, assign to them any particular district. ‡

We cannot enter into an examination of the protests, remonstrances, and petitions, which resulted in the cession, by all the States, of their vacant lands to the Union; § but

* *Land Laws*, p. 337.

† The letters relating to this petition were sent by Mr. Sparks to the Committee for the Celebration of the Settlement of Ohio, at Cincinnati, 1835, and were by them published, with the Oration of the day, &c.

‡ *Land Laws*, p. 339. — *Old Journals*, Vol. IV. p. 304.

§ The only account of the steps which led to the cessions of Virginia, &c. that is at all complete, is in Blunt's *Historical Sketch*. — The best statement of the grounds upon which Virginia and the other States claimed the West, is to be found in *Secret Journals of Congress*, Vol. III. p. 175. We may here notice an error in Blunt's *Sketch* (p. 71.) which Mr. Chase has copied (p. 13.). After mentioning the Resolution passed by Congress upon the 30th of October, 1779, recommending Virginia to forbear from issuing warrants for unappropriated lands, Mr. Blunt says, "Congress did not confine itself merely to remonstrances; but ordered Colonel Broadhead to be stationed in the western country, with a competent force to prevent intrusions upon that territory. In the execution of these orders, that officer, in the month of October, 1779, being informed, that certain inhabitants of Virginia had crossed the Ohio, he ordered them to be apprehended, &c." The date of the letter from Colonel Broadhead, informing Congress, that he had

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

must content ourselves with the bare statement, that New York conveyed her claims to Congress on the 1st of March, 1781; that Virginia released hers upon the first of that month, three years later; while Massachusetts delayed till the 19th of April, 1785, and Connecticut till the 14th of September, 1786.

Meanwhile, upon the 22d of October, 1784, the Five Nations had relinquished to the United States all their claims to the grounds west of Pennsylvania;* and, upon the 21st of the following January, the Wyandots and Delawares, by the treaty of Fort McIntosh (which post stood near the ground now occupied by Beaver, Pennsylvania), gave to the whites the whole south of what is now Ohio.† The Indian title being thus done away, and all the State claims but that of Connecticut given up, Congress, upon the 20th of May, 1785, passed their ordinance for the disposal of lands in the West.‡ Under this ordinance, Thomas Hutch-

expelled these Virginians from beyond the Ohio, is given in the Journals of Congress, and proves it to have been written four days before the passage of the Resolution, in consequence of which, Mr. Blunt's account would lead us to think he was sent to the West; — in which sense Mr. Chase understood it; as he says, "To enforce this recommendation (of October 30th) Colonel Broadhead was stationed in the Western country," &c. — The facts were these; the General Assembly of Pennsylvania sent to Congress, early in 1779, a representation of the exposed state of their frontiers, then threatened by the Indians, acting under British incitement. This, upon the 25th of February, was sent to Washington; who, early in March, sent Colonel Broadhead to Pittsburg, as director of Indian affairs there. At that time the Delawares, who lived along the Ohio from the Muskingum towards Pittsburg, were divided; some, under White-eyes, being for peace, and others, under Pipe, for war. (See Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. p. 122.) — Broadhead, called by them the Great Sun, more than once prevented a union of the whole nation against the Americans, by defending their property from the ravages of the frontier-men; and for this purpose acted as stated in his letter of October 26th; which says, expressly, that he turned the Virginians from the Indian lands, not the disputed territory. While acting to prevent the savages from being wronged by the whites, Broadhead offended many of the latter; but Congress agreed to support him, (*Old Journals*, Vol. III. p. 449.) and, when suits were brought against him, indemnified him, (*Old Journals*, Vol. IV. p. 183). — For Washington's letter, sending Broadhead to the West, see Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. VI. p. 205. — In the Appendix to Vol. VIII. of that work are some remarks, by Madison, on the opposition in Congress to the western claims of Virginia, &c.

* *Land Laws*, p. 122. † *Ibid.* p. 148.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 349. It is worthy of remark, that the first ordinance reported to Congress, May 28th, 1784, proposed to divide the public lands into townships or "hundreds" of ten miles square, each divided again into a hundred parts; the plan next reported, April 26th, 1785, proposed townships seven miles square; and this, during the debate, was altered to six miles square, which was the size suggested by Putnam in 1783.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ins, Geographer of the United States, assisted by a surveyor from each State, proceeded to examine and divide the newly acquired territory.

Among those, who at that time visited the region in question, was Colonel Benjamin Tupper. During the summer and fall of 1785, this gentleman, acting as temporary surveyor for Massachusetts, made himself acquainted with the country about the Muskingum; and, being fairly carried away by its beauty and seeming fertility, was strongly instrumental, it is believed, in causing its selection as the resting-place for the colony that went out nearly two years afterwards, under the patronage of the Ohio Company. Indeed, there is reason to think that Tupper's visit to the West was the immediate cause of the formation of that company; which resulted from a meeting of those entitled to land bounties, called through the newspapers by General Putnam and Colonel Tupper, in January, 1786. The meeting took place upon the 1st of March; the "Ohio Company of Associates" was organized; and the resolution taken, to collect a million dollars' worth of certificates, and to employ some one at the West, who should select a spot, for which they might definitely contract with Congress. Congress, on their part, showed a disposition to do all in their power to forward the settlement of the northwestern lands; and with that view, upon the 21st of April, 1787, passed a resolution, authorizing the sale of those surveyed townships, which might remain after the portion assigned the army had been drawn for, for public securities; the sale to commence upon the 21st of the following September, and the price not to be less than one dollar per acre.*

Before this public disposition of the lands commenced, however, it was the purpose of the Associates to make a separate contract for that part of the territory, which their agent in the West might select as most suitable. This agent was General Samuel Holden Parsons, who, as Indian commissioner, had, in the year 1786, visited the Ohio country as far down, at least, as the mouth of the Great Miami, where a treaty was concluded, on the 31st of January, with "the Shawanoe nation."† This gentleman, in the spring of 1787, selected, after due examination, the same spot which had

* *Old Journals*, Vol. IV. p. 739. † *Ibid.* p. 627. — *Land Laws*, p. 258.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pleased Colonel Tupper, — the valley of the Muskingum. At the mouth of this river he proposed to have the chief city, while the purchase was to stretch along the Ohio to the mouth of the Scioto,* so as to include the half of the rich valley that borders that stream. Many things acted as inducements to this selection; the beautiful scenery and rich soil upon the banks of the clear "Elk-eye";† the protection that would be afforded to the settlers by Fort Harmar, built in 1786, and then the frontier post; the near neighbourhood of Western Virginia, from which men and food might be had in time of need; the knowledge, that within the selected territory were coal, salt, and iron,‡ and (as strong an inducement as any) the expectation, then entertained, that through the Cuyahoga and Muskingum would be the communication between the Ohio and Lake Erie, while the bulk of the Atlantic trade, it was thought, would pass the mountains from James River and the Potomac, and flow down the Kenhawa. §

One other thing is said to have influenced General Parsons; this was the advice of some persons, that were supposed to be good judges, that he should *not* select the spot he did. The story is this, and, as our informant had it from General Rufus Putnam, we presume it to be correct. After General Parsons had examined the country immediately about the junction of the Muskingum with the Ohio, he proceeded up the valley of the former, that he might have a view of the interior. Having gone many miles, he met with one of the Zanes, four of which family were among the most noted of the frontier rangers. ‖ Zane was probably engaged in salt-

---

* The Scioto was early famous for its rich bottoms; "for forty miles on each side of it," says Dr. Franklin, in his *Albany Plan of Union*, 1754, "and quite up to its heads, is a body of all rich land; the finest spot of its bigness in all North America."

† The meaning of the Indian word "Muskingum."

‡ In the passage, part of which we have given, from Franklin, in 1754, he refers to "the particular advantage of sea-coal in plenty, (even above ground,) in two places," which recommended the Scioto Valley.

§ See Washington's *Correspondence*, during 1785 – 6; particularly a letter to Knox (Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. p. 110), in which he says, that the confluence of the Kenhawa and Ohio may in time "be a more eligible place than Pittsburg." Under the impression that it might be, the Ohio Company laid out, opposite to the Kenhawa, the town of Fairhaven; which is still but a small village, and will, probably, never be more.

‖ They founded Wheeling in 1770. See Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXXI. p. 3.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

making at Salt Creek, which runs into the Muskingum, about ten miles below the present town of Zanesville.* Parsons, well knowing that the man he had chanced upon knew, from an acquaintance of fifteen years or more, the whole of what now forms the State of Ohio, asked his advice touching the location of the purchase which the Ohio Company proposed to make. Zane, having pondered the matter, and consulted with some of the old Delaware Indians that lived thereabout, recommended the General to choose either the Miami country, or the valley of the Scioto, in preference to that which he was then examining. What it was that made Parsons doubt the good faith of the pioneer, we know not; but he came to the conclusion that Zane really preferred the Muskingum to any other point, and wished to purchase it himself when the sales should begin during the following September.† This impression did away what little doubt still remained in his mind; and, returning to the east, he laid his proposal to contract with Congress for all the land along the Ohio, between the seventh range of townships and the Scioto, and running back as might be afterwards agreed upon, before the directors of the Company of Associates.

His choice being approved by them, he addressed a memorial to the legislature of the confederation, asking them to empower the Board of Treasury to make the proposed contract. This memorial was reported upon on the 14th of July, the day after the passage of the well-known Ordinance of 1787;‡ and the report was passed, and the Board authorized to make the contract, upon the 23d of that month.§ Information of this act of Congress having reached New York, Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler, for themselves and their associates, wrote upon the 26th to the Board of Treasury, offering to accept the proposition of the report with some few variations, but providing that the company should receive no more land than they paid for. Three months

* Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXXI. p. 84.

† This anecdote has been told, somewhat differently, in the *American Quarterly Review*, for March, 1833, p. 100. Had the writer of that article looked at the contract made by the Ohio Company, he would not have said their choice was made when the first settlers were on their way to the West; nor, had he thought a moment, would he have supposed Yankees so shiftless as to take any man's opinion *pro* or *con*, as conclusive in a matter of such importance.

‡ *Old Journals*, Vol. IV. p. 755.

§ *Ibid. Appendix*, p. 17. — *Land Laws*, p. 362.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

passed before the contract was finally concluded,* the indenture bearing date October 27th; and, when the patents issued, in 1792, the million and a half of acres named in this contract were diminished to something over eleven hundred thousand; the rise in continental certificates having prevented the Company from securing the sum they had expected. In consequence of this non-performance, by the Associates, of their original plan, they lost the rich lands upon the Scioto, their western range of townships being the fifteenth.

All being now ready for actual emigration, a plan of the city, which was to be built at the mouth of the Muskingum, was prepared in Boston; and, by a vote of the Company in November, one hundred settlers were to be sent forward at once; being furnished with provisions while on the way to the new country, and taken into pay at four dollars per month, from their arrival at Pittsburg till the following May. Each man was to provide himself with "a good musket, bayonet, and cartridge-box"; and if he had besides an axe and hoe, and the mechanic his needful tools, he was to be transported free of cost.† Accordingly, in December, one party assembled at Danvers, Massachusetts, and upon the 1st of January a second detachment left Hartford. Their route was the old road, nearly that followed by Braddock; and it was April before the united parties left the Youghiogany, and began to float down toward their destined home; so that any who might have counted upon the wages which they were to receive after passing Pittsburg, and which were to be paid in land, must have found their farms but small, compared to their expectations.

Upon the 7th of April, 1788, this little band of forty-seven persons landed, and encamped upon the spot where Marietta now stands; and from that day Ohio dates her existence.‡ The river, at whose mouth this first colony of the

* These matters may be found at length in the *Land Laws*. The price of the land was to be one dollar per acre, subject to a deduction for bad lands, not to exceed 33 cents per acre throughout. One seventh of the purchase might be paid for by warrants for military bounties.

† Carey's *Museum*, 1787, Vol. II., *Chronicle*, page 14.

‡ Many of the facts which we state are derived from oral testimony, in the general accuracy of which we have full confidence; many others might be brought to light by examining the newspapers of the day. The measures taken by the *Ohio Historical Society*, at its last session, will make perma-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new settlers placed itself, was noted, even then, as the scene of many interesting historical events. At the forks of the Muskingum, upon the 9th of November, 1764, Bouquet had received from the Indians two hundred and six persons who had been made captive during the short but bloody war of Pontiac.* Near that spot the first Protestant Christians that lived in Ohio, the Moravians, built their house of worship in 1772.† There dwelt the noble-spirited Logan;‡ and the well-known peace chief of the Delawares.§ Heckewelder labored upon its banks; there, upon the 16th of April, 1781, was born his daughter Maria, the first of the "Buckeyes";‖ and, in one year from that time, was enacted there the most disgraceful of all frontier acts, the murder of the Moravian Indians.¶

Upon these matters we cannot dwell; nor can we, indeed, refer to more than a few events relative to the settlement made by Putnam and his companions. As this settlement was undertaken at a time when Indian hostilities were much to be apprehended, the more remote savages having, the preceding fall, avowed their intention to oppose all attempts to civilize the northwestern wilderness, upon the ground that those, who had made the treaties of 1785 and 1786, were not authorized to do so,** one of the most prominent objects of the settlers was the renewal of these treaties; and the Indians were invited to meet the whites for that purpose in May, at a spot seventy or eighty miles up the Muskingum. Meanwhile, the governor, Arthur St. Clair, who had been appointed upon the 5th of the preceding

---

nent the testimony of most of the early pioneers still living. See also some papers on the history of Ohio in the *Western Monthly Magazine*, for 1833.

* Bouquet published an account of his western expeditions of 1763 and 1764, in Philadelphia. The Indians gave up two hundred and six prisoners, and the Shawanese gave hostages for the delivery, in the spring, of a hundred more still in their hands. Holmes (*Annals*, Vol. II. p. 131) says, Bouquet made peace with the savages; but he only agreed to the selection of emissaries to go and make peace with Sir William Johnson; he had no authority to make peace himself.

† Doddridge's *Indian Wars*, p. 257.

‡ McClung's *Sketches of Western Adventure*, p. 279.

§ Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. p. 122.

‖ Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXXI. p. 66.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 64. Doddridge, p. 248. The writer in Silliman's *Journal* says, Crawford was in this expedition; but, from Doddridge's account, we think this a mistake.

** Carey's *Museum*, Vol. II. *Chron.* p. 2.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

October, not having reached the West, it became necessary to erect a temporary government for their internal security; for which purpose a set of laws was passed, and published by being nailed to a tree in the village, and Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed to administer them. It is a strong evidence of the good habits of the people of the colony, that, during three months, but one difference occurred, and that was compromised.* Indeed, a better set of men, altogether, could scarce have been selected for the purpose, than Putnam's little band. Washington might well say, "no colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has first commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." †

With the information which belonged to them was mingled a little of that pedantic love of ancient learning which tinged the better educated of those days. This showed itself in a meeting of the directors and agents held, July 2d, upon the banks of the Muskingum, for the purpose of naming the city which had just been laid out, and also the public squares. As yet the settlement had been called merely "The Muskingum," but the name Marietta was now formally given it, in honor of Marie Antoinette; the square upon which the block-houses stood was christened "*Campus Martius;* the square No. 19, *Capitolium;* the square No. 61, *Cecilia;* and the great road through the covert way, *Sacra Via.*"‡ Nor was the taste in English composition much more in accordance with that of our days, than the conceits just mentioned. Of this we have evidence in an Oration, now before us, delivered upon the 4th of July, 1788, by James M. Varnum, who, together with S. H. Parsons and John Armstrong, had been appointed to the bench on the 16th of the previous October.

---

* *Western Monthly Magazine*, 1833, Vol. I. p. 395.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. p. 384.

‡ Carey's *Museum*, Vol. IV. p. 390. In the fifth volume of that periodical, page 284, is an account of the city of Athens, which the Spaniards at this time proposed to build at the mouth of the Missouri. "On the very point" where the rivers joined, was to be Fort Solon; not for defence, however, "but for the retirement of the governor from the busy scenes of public employment!"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The governor, as we have said, had not yet arrived, which fact gives occasion for the following passage.

"May he soon arrive! Thou gently-flowing Ohio, whose surface, as conscious of thy unequalled majesty, reflecteth no images but the grandeur of the impending Heaven, — bear him, oh! bear him safely to this anxious spot! And thou, beautifully-transparent Muskingum, swell at the moment of his approach, and reflect no objects but of pleasure and delight."

But at the close of this first-fruit of Ohio literature, the Judge looked forward, with prophetic eye, to the fortunes of the just-entered wilderness; and, in these dim and seer-like terms, foretells the future.

"Religion and government commenced in those parts of the globe, where yonder glorious luminary first arose in his effulgent majesty. They have followed after him in his brilliant course; nor will they cease till they shall have accomplished, in this western world, the consummation of all things.

"Religion inspires us with certain hope of eternal beatitude, and that it shall begin upon the earth, by an unreserved restitution to the common centre of existence. With what rapture and ecstasy, therefore, may we look forward to that all-important period when the universal desires of mankind shall be satisfied! When this new Jerusalem shall form one august temple, unfolding its celestial gates to every corner of the globe! When millions shall fly to it, "as doves to their windows," elevating their hopes upon the broad-spreading wings of millenial happiness! Then shall the dark shades of evil be erased from the moral picture, and the universal system appear in all its splendor! Time itself, the era and the grave of imperfection, shall be ingulfed in the bosom of Eternity, and one blaze of Glory pervade the Universe!"

It would appear that the Ohio listened to the prayer of the orator, for, upon the 9th, St. Clair arrived. The ordinance of 1787 * provided two distinct grades of government for the northwest territory, under the first of which the whole power was in the hands of the Governor and the three judges, and this form was at once organized upon the Governor's arrival. The first law, which was "for regulating and establishing the militia," was published upon the

* This instrument is so well known, and so easy of access, that we have not thought it worth while to detail its provisions.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

25th of July;* and, the next day, appeared the governor's proclamation, erecting all the country, that had been ceded by the Indians east of the Scioto river, into the County of Washington. †

We have spoken of a proposal made to the Indians early in 1788, to hold a treaty with the whites in May, at a spot seventy or more miles up the Muskingum. The proposed meeting was delayed from time to time; but stores, presents, and other valuables were collected at the designated spot, to wait there until both nations were ready. Upon the 12th of July, however, a party of Chippewas attacked this post; and, though they were repulsed, and six of them made prisoners by the Delaware Indians, who were friendly to the settlers, it was thought best to withdraw the stores to Fort Harmar, and there hold the treaty. ‡ This was done, though the Indians could not be brought to conclusive action until the 9th of the following January, § when the business was "ended to the entire satisfaction of all concerned."

"The progress of the settlement," says a letter from the Muskingum, "is sufficiently rapid for the first year. We are continually erecting houses, but arrivals are faster than we can possibly provide convenient covering. Our first ball was opened about the middle of December, at which were fifteen ladies, as well accomplished in the manners of polite circles as any I have ever seen in the old States. I mention this to show the progress of society in this new world; where I believe we shall vie with, if not excel, the old States, in every accomplishment necessary to render life agreeable and happy."

The emigration westward even at this time was very great; the commandant at Fort Harmar reporting four thousand five hundred persons as having passed that post between February and June, 1788; many of whom would have stopped on the purchase of the Associates, had they been ready to receive them.

During the following year, and indeed until the Indians, who, in spite of treaties, had been committing small depredations all the time, stealing horses and sinking boats, went fairly and openly to war, the settlement on the Muskingum grew slowly, but steadily, and to good purpose.

* Chase, Vol. I. p. 92. † Carey's *Museum*, Vol. IV. p. 433. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 203. § *Land Laws*, p. 149.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

During the years from 1790 to 1795, it suffered severely, sometimes coming to the brink of destruction from famine and savage foes. But, when that war was ended, though its comparative sterility had become known, and thousands passed its barren hills scoffing, as they guided their keels to the richer regions about the Miami, its progress was of the most encouraging kind. The men, that stopped there, were those that were willing to work hard, and gain no more than independence after all; and the general character of the settlers about Marietta, from that time forward, afforded the best guaranty that the population of the Purchase would be industrious, persevering, and economical. On the rough "knobs" of Meigs, and Athens, and Washington, were laid the foundations of quite as much true wealth, as upon the fertile plains of the lower country; for true wealth is as much in the habits of the tiller, as in the soil that is tilled.

In later years, the Muskingum valley suffered very severely from sickness; and, when the financial troubles of 1817–18 brought the richest citizens of Ohio to the verge of utter poverty, the poorer emigrants from New England had cause enough to groan, and to lament that they had been persuaded to leave their homes.

"Marietta," says an epistle written about that time, "I find a poor, muddy hole; — the mud here is more disagreeable than snow in Massachusetts. My advice to all my friends is not to come to this country. There is not one in a hundred but what is discontented; but they cannot get back, having spent all their property in getting here. It is the most broken country that I ever saw. Poor, lean pork at twelve cents; salt, four cents; poor, dry fish, twenty cents. The corn is miserable, and we cannot get it ground; we have to pound it. Those that have lanterns, grate it. Rum twenty-five cents a gill; sugar thirty-seven cents a pound; and no molasses! This country has been the ruin of a great many poor people; it has undone a great many poor souls for ever."

The melancholy picture presented by this letter-writer was, even then, one half imagination. The idea of the corn being "miserable," for instance, was, we presume, drawn from the shrivelled appearance of the southern and western corn, which, to a raw Massachusetts man, seems an evidence of worthlessness; though we admit the lantern grating * to

* Doddridge tells us, that this was in common use among the frontier settlers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been an evil, as also the absence of molasses ; — and the mud of which our writer complains is a good objection to the whole Ohio valley to this day.

At present the Ohio Company's purchase is but thinly settled, compared to other parts of the State ; but its population is, generally, of an excellent character. The expected communication through the Muskingum did not take place. That river is, at this time, undergoing improvements, that will make it as valuable for navigable purposes as it is now for its water-power ; and along the Hockhocking valley also the State is constructing a canal.

But the worldly well-being of that portion of Ohio, of which we have been speaking, is more in prospect than possession ; and, much as has been said about the unlucky choice of the Associates, for their posterity and the world we believe that choice to have been an admirable one. We believe the day will come, when as perfect a union of knowledge and good habits with wealth, and the means of attaining wealth, will be found in the purchase of the Company, as in any part of the State. The uplands of that region afford most excellent wheat lands ;* and the hill-sides, the best sheep pastures. Iron abounds in the immediate vicinity, and salt and coal extend through the whole district. Some of the salt-springs yield from two to four hundred bushels a day, and it is generally of excellent quality. The coal exists in unknown abundance, in veins from five to twelve feet in thickness ; some above and some below the bottoms of the valleys.† We have here, therefore, all that can be wished of the means for acquiring comfort and wealth, and these means so placed as to demand toil and economy for their developement. This fact, united to the very admirable character of the original settlers, and the slow growth hitherto, leads us to think that General Parsons' selection will, in the end, prove a very fortunate one.

---

* For many sections, that were a few years since called barrens, and for which at tax-sales but from two to five cents an acre could be had, the purchasers are now paying to the original owners Congress price, as the land will bring from fifteen to twenty-five bushels of wheat to the acre.

† For a full account of the mineral wealth of the Purchase, see Dr. Hildreth's excellent article in Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXIX. The State Geologists (1838) state, that probably 12,000 square miles of Ohio are underlaid with coal, and 5000 with workable beds, averaging six feet in thickness; each square mile of this thickness contains six millions of tons; and in England the annual consumption is but fifteen millions.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Having, in this brief manner, given an outline of the planting of the first colony in Ohio, we next turn to the settlement of the Miami country, the most important, in immediate results, of all the early settlements.*

The region between the two Miamies of the Ohio† was early known to the whites as one of great fertility. In 1751, Christopher Gist, the agent of the old English Ohio Company, went a hundred and fifty miles up the larger of those two streams;‡ and in 1752 the English had made a fort, or trading station, among the Piankeshaws, a tribe of the Twigtwees, or Miamies, on what is now called Loramie's Creek, forty-seven miles above Dayton; which post was attacked and taken by the French during that year.§ The Miami valleys were afterwards examined by Boone, during his captivity among the Shawanese in 1778;‖ and by the war parties, which Bowman and Clarke led against the Indian villages on the Little Miami and Mad River. But as the Shawanese were among the most inveterate enemies of the whites, and the unceasing plagues of the Kentucky settlers, no attempt was made to effect a lodgment near their towns until after the treaty made with them in January, 1786. During the spring of that year, Benjamin Stiles, of Redstone (now Brownsville), on the Monongahela, visited the newly ceded district, and, being much pleased with it, went to Philadelphia for the purpose of interesting some of the leading men in its purchase and settlement.¶ He was introduced to John Cleves Symmes, a representative in Congress from New Jersey. Mr. Symmes was so much interested by the accounts given him of the beauty and fertility of the Miami region, that he determined to visit it himself, which he did; though

---

* In 1800 the population of the Miami country was 15,000, one third of that in the whole State; in 1790 it was two thirds of all in the State, viz. 2000; in 1810, more than one quarter, viz. 70,000.

† Beside the Great and Little Miami emptying into the Ohio, there were two rivers of that name which emptied into the Lakes; one was the Maumee; the other, running into Lake Michigan, was, according to some, the Chicago, according to others, Fox River, and, as a few think, the St. Joseph's. We may take occasion, in some future paper, to examine this question and others connected with it.

‡ Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II., pp. 37, 480.

§ *Land Laws*, p. 148. — Sparks's *Works of Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 71.

‖ Carey's *Museum*, Vol. II. p. 324.

¶ *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1819, p. 16. The historical sketch in this volume was compiled from the evidence of the first settlers then alive.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at what period precisely we do not know. Finding the representations of his informant to fall short of, rather than exceed the truth, he applied himself, upon his return, to the task of interesting others in the proposed purchase; and, on the 29th of August, 1787, wrote to the President of Congress, requesting that the Board of Treasury might be empowered to contract with him and his associates for all the lands between the Miami rivers, and running as far north as the north line of the Ohio Company's purchase; the terms of the contract to be substantially the same as those to be made with "Messrs. Sargent, Cutter, and Co." His petition was referred to the Board, with authority to contract upon the 2d of the following October.*

Upon the 26th of the next month Symmes issued a pamphlet, addressed "to the respectable public," stating the terms of this contract, and the scheme of sale which he proposed to adopt.† This was, to issue his warrants for not less than a quarter section (a hundred and sixty acres), which might be located anywhere, except, of course, upon reservations, and spots previously chosen. No section was to be divided, if the warrant held by the locator would cover the whole. The price was to be sixty-six cents and two thirds till May, 1788; then one dollar till November; and, after that time, was to be regulated by the demand for land. Every locator was bound to begin improvements within two years, or forfeit one sixth of his purchase to whosoever would settle thereon and remain seven years. Military bounties might be taken in this as in the purchase of the Associates. For himself Symmes retained one township at the mouth of the Great Miami, at the junction of which stream with the Ohio he proposed to build his great city; to help the growth of which he offered each alternate lot to any one that would build a house and live therein three years.

As Continental certificates were rising, in consequence of the great land purchases then making with them, and as difficulty was apprehended in procuring enough to make his first payment, Symmes was anxious to send forward settlers early, that the true value of his purchase might become known

---

* *Land Laws*, p. 372.

† See *Land Laws* for the terms, and final settlement of Symmes' Contract.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at the East. He had, however, some difficulty in arranging with the Board of Treasury the boundaries of the first portion which he was to occupy.*

In January, 1788, Matthias Denman, of New Jersey, took an interest in Symmes' purchase, and located, among other tracts, the section and fractional section upon which Cincinnati has been built.† Retaining one third of this particular locality, he sold another third to Robert Patterson, and the remainder to John Filson; and the three, about August, 1788, agreed to lay out a town on the spot, which was designated as being opposite Licking River, to the mouth of which they proposed to have a road cut from Lexington, Kentucky, to be connected with the northern shore by a ferry. Mr. Filson, who had been a schoolmaster, was appointed to name the town; and, in respect to its situation, and as if with a prophetic perception of the mixed race that were in after days to inhabit there, he named it Losantiville, which, being interpreted, means *ville*, the town, *anti*, opposite to, *os*, the mouth, *L*, of the Licking.‡ This may well put to the blush the *Campus Martius* of the Marietta scholars, and the Fort Solon of the Spaniards. What the connexion may have been, it is out of our power to say; but Mr. Filson was killed in about a month from this time by a single Indian, near the Great Miami.§

Meanwhile, in July, Symmes got thirty people and eight four-horse wagons under way for the West. These reached Limestone (now Maysville) in September, where they found Mr. Stiles with several persons, from Redstone. But the mind of the chief purchaser was full of trouble. He had not only been obliged to relinquish his first contract, which was expected to embrace two millions of acres, but had failed to conclude one for the single million which he now proposed taking. This arose from a difference between him and the government, he wishing to have the whole Ohio front between the Miamies, while the Board of Treasury wished to confine him to twenty miles upon the Ohio. This propo-

* *Manuscript Letters* of Symmes.

† Many facts relative to the settlement of Cincinnati we take from the depositions of Denman, Patterson, Ludlow, and others, contained in the report of the chancery trial of *City of Cincinnati* vs. *Joel Williams*, in 1807.

‡ *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1819, p. 18.

§ Symmes' *Letters*. — Patterson's *Deposition*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sition, however, he would not for a long time agree to, as he had made sales along nearly the whole Ohio shore. * Leaving the bargain in this unsettled state, Congress considered itself released from its obligation to sell; and, but for the representations of some of his friends, our adventurer would have lost his bargain, his labor, and his money. Nor was this all. In February, 1788, he had been appointed one of the judges of the Northwest Territory, in the place of Mr. Armstrong, who declined serving. This appointment gave offence to some; and others were envious of the great fortune which it was thought he would make. Some of his associates complained of him, also, probably because of his endangering the contract to which they had become parties. With these murmurs and reproaches behind him, he saw before him danger, delay, suffering, and, perhaps, ultimate failure and ruin; and, although hopeful by nature, apparently he felt discouraged and sad. However, a visit to his purchase, where he landed upon the 22d of September, revived his spirits; and, upon his return to Maysville, he

* It may be as well to give here a sketch of the changes made in Symmes' contract. His first application was for all the country between the Miamies, running up to the north line of the Ohio Company's purchase, extended due west. On the 23d of October, 1787, Congress resolved, that the Board of Treasury be authorized to contract with any one for tracts of not less than a million acres of Western lands, the front of which, on the Ohio, Wabash, and other rivers, should not exceed one third the depth. On the 15th of May, 1788, Dayton and Marsh, as Symmes's agents, concluded a contract with the Commissioners of the Treasury for two millions of acres in two equal tracts. In July, Symmes concluded to take only one tract, but differed with the Commissioners on the grounds stated in the text. After much negotiation, upon the 15th of October, 1788, Dayton and Marsh concluded a contract with government bearing date May 15th, for one million of acres, beginning twenty miles up the Ohio from the mouth of the Great Miami, and to run back for quantity between the Miami and a line drawn from the Ohio parallel to the general course of that river. In 1791, Symmes found this would throw his purchase too far back from the Ohio, and applied to Congress to let him have all between the Miamies, running back so as to include a million acres, which that body, on the 12th of April, 1792, agreed to do. When the lands between the Miamies were surveyed, however, it was found that the tract south of a line drawn from the head of the Little, due west to the Great Miami, would include less than 600,000 acres; but even this Symmes could not pay for, and, when his patent issued upon the 30th of September, 1794, it gave him and his associates but 248,540 acres, exclusive of reservations, which amounted to 63,142 acres. This tract was bounded by the Ohio, the two Miamies, and a due east and west line, run so as to comprehend the desired quantity. As Symmes made no farther payments after this time, the rest of his purchase reverted to the United States, who gave those that had bought under Symmes ample preemption rights. See *Land Laws*, pp. 372–382, *et seq.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wrote to Jonathan Dayton, of New-Jersey, who had become interested with him, that he thought some of the land near the Great Miami "positively worth a silver dollar the acre, in its present state."

But, though this view of the riches now almost within his grasp somewhat reassured Symmes's mind, he had still enough to trouble him. The Indians were threatening; in Kentucky, he says, "they are perpetually doing mischief; a man a week, I believe, falls by their hands;" but still government gave him little help toward defending himself; for, while three hundred men were stationed at Muskingum, he had "but one ensign and seventeen men for the protection and defence of 'the Slaughter-house,'" as the Miami valley was called by the dwellers upon the "dark and bloody ground" of "Kentucke." And, when Captain Kearny and forty-five soldiers came to Maysville in December, they came without provisions, and but made bad worse. Nor did their coming answer any purpose; for, when a little band of settlers were ready to go, under their protection, to the mouth of the Miami, the grand city of Symmes that was to be, the ice stove their boats, their cattle were drowned, and their provisions lost, and so the settlement was prevented. But the fertile mind of a man like our adventurer could, even under these circumstances, find comfort in the anticipation of what was to come. In the words of Return Jonathan Meigs, the first Ohio poet with whom we have any acquaintance,

> "To him glad Fancy brightest prospects shows,
> Rejoicing Nature all around him glows;
> Where late the savage, hid in ambush, lay,
> Or roamed the uncultured valleys for his prey,
> Her hardy gifts rough Industry extends,
> The groves bow down, the lofty forest bends;
> And see the spires of towns and cities rise,
> And domes and temples swell into the skies." *

But alas! so far as his pet city was concerned, "glad Fancy" proved but a gay deceiver; for there came "an amazing high freshet," and "the Point," as it was, and still is called, was fifteen feet under water.

But, before Symmes left Maysville, which was upon the 29th of January, 1789, two settlements had been made within his purchase. The first was by Mr. Stiles, the original

* A Poem delivered at Marietta, July 4th, 1789, slightly altered.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

projector of the whole plan; who, with other Redstone people, had located themselves at the mouth of the Little Miami, where the Indians had been led by the great fertility of the soil to make a partial clearing. To this point, on the 18th of November, came twenty-six persons, who built a block-house, named their town Columbia, and prepared for a winter of want and hard fighting.* But they were agreeably disappointed; the Indians came to them, and, though the whites answered, as Symmes says, "in a blackguarding manner," the savages sued for peace. One, at whom a rifle was presented, took off his cap, trailed his gun, and held out his right hand, by which pacific gestures he induced the Americans to consent to their entrance into the block-houses. In a few days this good understanding ripened into intimacy, the "hunters frequently taking shelter for the night in the Indian camps"; and the red men and squaws "spending whole days and nights" at Columbia, "regaling themselves with whiskey." This friendly demeanor on the part of the Indians was owing to the kind and just conduct of Symmes himself; who, during the preceding September, when examining the country about the Great Miami, had prevented some Kentuckians, who were in his company, from injuring a band of the savages that came within their power; which proceeding, he says, "the Kentuckians thought unpardonable."

The Columbia settlement was, however, like that proposed at the Point, upon land that was under water during the high rise in January, 1789. "But one house escaped the deluge." The soldiers were driven from the ground-floor of their block-house into the loft, and from the loft into the solitary boat which the ice had spared them.

This flood deserves to be commemorated in an epic; for, while it demonstrated the dangers to which the three chosen spots of all Ohio, Marietta, Columbia, and the Point, must be ever exposed, it also proved the safety, and led to the rapid settlement of Losantiville. The great recommendation of the spot upon which Denman and his comrades proposed to build their "Mosaic" town, as it has been called, appears to have been the fact that it lay opposite the

* *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1819, and Symmes' *Letters*. The land at this point was so fertile that from nine acres were raised 963 bushels of Indian corn.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Licking; the terms of Denman's purchase having been, that his warrants were to be located, as nearly as possible, over against the mouth of that river; though the advantage of the noble and high plain at that point could not have escaped any eye. But the freshet of 1789 placed its superiority over other points more strongly in view than any thing else could have done.

We have said, that Filson was killed in September, or early in October, 1788. As nothing had been paid upon his third of the plat of Losantiville, his heirs made no claim upon it, and it was transferred to Israel Ludlow, who had been Symmes's surveyor. This gentleman, with Colonel Patterson, one of the other proprietors, and well known in the Indian wars, with about fourteen others, left Maysville upon the 24th of December, 1788, "to form a station and lay off a town opposite Licking." The river was filled with ice "from shore to shore"; but, says Symmes, in May, 1789, "perseverance triumphing over difficulty, they landed safe on a most delightful high bank of the Ohio, where they founded the town of Losantiville, which *populates* considerably."

It is a curious fact, and one of many in Western history, that may well tend to shake our faith in the learned discussions as to dates and localities with which scholars now and then amuse the world, that the date of the settlement of Cincinnati is unknown, even though we have the testimony of the very men that made the settlement. Judge Symmes says, in one of his letters, "On the 24th of December, 1788, Colonel Patterson, of Lexington, who is concerned with Mr. Denman in the section at the mouth of Licking river, sailed from Limestone," &c. Some, supposing it would take about two days to make the voyage, have dated the being of the Queen City of the West from December 26th. This is but guess-work, however; for, as the river was full of ice, it might have taken ten days to have gone the sixty-five miles from Maysville to the Licking. But, in the case in chancery to which we have referred, we have the evidence of Patterson and Ludlow, that they landed opposite the Licking "in the month of January, 1789"; while William McMillan testifies, that he "was one of those who formed the settlement of Cincinnati on the twenty-eighth day of December, 1788." As we know of nothing more conclusive on the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subject than these statements, we must leave this question in the same darkness that we find it, and proceed to more certain events.

The settlers of Losantiville built a few log huts and block-houses, and proceeded to lay out the town; though they placed their dwellings in the most exposed situation, yet, says Symmes, they "suffered nothing from the freshet." The Judge spent a little time with them, and then fell down to North Bend,* accompanied by the small army which had been allowed him for his protection. Here they built "a camp," "by setting two forks of saplings in the ground, a ridgepole across, and leaning boat-boards, which had been brought from Maysville, one end on the ground and the other against the ridge-pole; enclosing one end, and leaving the other open for a door, where the fire was built to keep out the cold, which was very intense."

Finding his point to be so low, that a city could not be safely built there, unless, as he says, "you raise her like Venice out of the waters," he surveyed the grounds between the north bend of the Ohio and the Miami; thinking a plan might be arranged so as to have the advantage of both rivers still, it being but a mile across the isthmus. He found the land, however, to be too hilly and broken, and was forced to content himself with a small town-plat reaching a mile and a half along the Ohio, of which he offered the alternate lots to settlers, of whom forty came within two months, and built themselves "comfortable log cabins."

But his longing for a city still continued; and, after much consideration, he determined in favor of a spot twelve miles up the Miami, and within half an hour's ride from North Bend; he preferred this to the Ohio shore, because he thought it better to concentrate the trade of the Miami valley, than to be one of many cities along the larger stream. The Miami was then considered navigable, and was for many years afterwards navigated by keel and flat boats; and, in Symmes's estimation, the country about the river was "superior in point of soil, water, and timber, to any tract of equal dimensions to be found in the United States." The hope that a great city was to arise at this point, long continued to

* So called, from its being the most northerly bend of the Ohio below the mouth of the Kenhawa.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comfort the harassed mind of the projector; and when St. Clair informed him, that he was about to visit and organize the Miami purchase, Symmes doubted much whether a new town which he had laid out at South Bend, or Losantiville, would be best fitted for the county seat; but, as the former was more central, thought, that, if it were made the county town, "it would probably take the lead of the present village (Losantiville) *until the city can be made somewhat considerable.*"

But the mind of this persevering and just man, which had never been at ease since he first embarked in the enterprise of reclaiming the wilderness, was to be still further tried. The Kentuckians, seeing that he, by his clemency, his moderation, and his firmness, still remained on good terms with the Indians, and that settlers were flocking to his lands, represented the boasted fertility of the soil as a lie, and the safety of the settlers as a delusion. Some even threatened to make it so, by destroying every Indian they could find in the Miami purchase. The soldiers that were with him were idle, disobliging, and burdensome. His surveyors and settlers were at times "put to great shifts from want of bread." Continental certificates were rising, and his purchase was endangered by the difficulty of obtaining them. Many, that had bought of him on speculation, threw up their contracts. Then came information, that the British were urging the Indians to war; and his expected recruits did not come. Next was actual warfare, and his settlers left him, fifty at one time. And, to complete his disquiet, his friends beyond the mountains wrote to him, that great attempts would be made to turn him from the bench; that he was universally disliked, almost hated, by the settlers, and that his eastern co-proprietors were displeased by his management.

The perils of warfare Symmes was prepared to meet. At the beginning he had said, "Disasters I expect; if I can prevent a defeat, it is as much as I hope for the first year;" "We may talk of treaties as we please; I am certain we must fight or leave the ground." And now that the day of trial was near by, he shrunk not. "What will be the issue," he says, "God only knows. I shall maintain the ground as long as I possibly can, ill prepared as we are. I can but perish, as many a better man has done before me."

But dislike and opposition, which his heart assured him he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had not merited, he did not meet without suffering. While yet on his way to the West in the summer of 1788, he said of his accusers, that "the only revenge he wished to have against them was, that they might have equal success in their views, attended with equal calumny and censure;" for which he thought he had "pretty good security, if they undertook to do business for many;" and the bitterness, which he then tasted, was increased every year that he lived.

It was not destined, however, that this frontier post of the West should perish. In June, a force of a hundred and forty men was sent to Cincinnati; and Fort Washington was commenced, upon the spot since made classic by the Bazaar of Mistress Trollope. In December, this band was increased to four hundred and forty, by the arrival of General Harmar, who was about to march against the Indians of the Maumee and Wabash. At this time Losantiville contained eleven families and twenty-four bachelors, beside the garrison.

In January, 1790, the governor and judges arrived at that village for the purpose of organizing the county; which Symmes, whom "the governor complimented with the honor of naming" it, called Hamilton, after the well-known Alexander, then Secretary of the Treasury. At this time, also, the name of Losantiville was abandoned, and Symmes and St. Clair adopted that of Cincinnati, or, as the former wrote it, Cincinnata, "in honor of the order of the Cincinnati, and to denote the chief place of their residence." The name is a good one, but the place ill suited for the residence of those honorable "knights," whose constitution could not even withstand the semi-aristocratic air of the seacoast.

In the spring of 1790, various stations were formed and garrisoned in the neighbourhood of Cincinnati; and General Harmar began to prepare for his campaign against the old Miami village at the junction of the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's, though he was not able to leave till the following September. Of his march, his ill success, amounting to a virtual defeat, and the outburst of savage warfare that followed, we shall not speak, as they may be found in any history of those times. The return of the troops, mournful as it was, had its ray of comfort, however, for our adventurer. "It is impossible," he says, "to describe the lands over which the army passed; I am told that they are inviting, to a charm."

But in 1791 came new troubles. It was found that it would

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be very hard, if not impossible, for Symmes and his comrades to pay for the million of acres, extending twenty miles only on the Ohio, as so much of it lay back from that stream that he could not find purchasers. And this brought him into conflict, in some way, with St. Clair, a self-willed and arbitrary man, who had, also, about this time, seen fit to proclaim military law in a "part of the town of Cincinnati"; an act which the Judge thought "bordered hard on tyranny." And when Symmes offered to accompany the governor in the expedition for which he was then preparing, his Excellency gave him an answer that led him to think his presence would be rather disagreeable than otherwise. Next came the fear, that Congress might open a land-office, and, by competing with, ruin him; and then the panic that resulted from St. Clair's defeat on the 4th of November, 1791. When the news of that event reached the settlers, they left their farms with scarce an exception; dismay went through the whole West; and a savage warfare commenced, that for two years and eight months nearly equalled that of 1763. These things were all sources of great discomfort and loss to Symmes, who had, amid them all, but one cause for joy, and that a poor and unchristian one;—the general dislike that was brought upon his old foe, St. Clair, whose pride, no doubt, he was very glad to see humbled.

We say nothing of the particulars of that general's defeat, because they are well known. The effect was, as we have said, dreadful. It almost stopped emigration; nor was confidence felt again until the decisive victory of Wayne, in August, 1794, which led to the treaty of Greenville in the same month of the year following.

When the knowledge that peace had been made with the Indians became general, however, "all Kentucky," as Symmes says, "and the back parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania ran mad with expectations of the land-office opening" in the West; "they laugh me full in the face, when I ask them one dollar per acre for first-rate land, and tell me, they will soon have as good for thirty cents." Even his North Bend settlers left him, to push their fortunes in those interior valleys, of which the soldiers of St. Clair and Wayne gave such descriptions. The mere prospect of a treaty diminished the population of his young town one half, and its completion gave his hopes almost a death-blow. So

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uniformly unfortunate was this founder of the most thriving colony of the Ohio, that warfare and peace, prosperity and adversity, seemed equally to injure his interests; and, to complete the picture, he was now at variance with his friend and adviser, Dayton.

But we cannot follow any farther his individual fortunes. No man ever seemed in a surer path to wealth, influence, and honor, than Judge Symmes when he first began his western operations. He was a man of good sense and very general information; just, kind, courageous, and persevering; but he had still some faults, which, coöperating with that fatherly but inscrutable Providence which governs all our external fortunes, thwarted his projects, destroyed his most promising plans, and involved him in quarrels and lawsuits, so that at last he died poor and neglected. But the cloud that is still upon his memory will one day rise. It is clear that, in despite of his failings, he was a true and high-minded man; and the future historian of Ohio will feel, as he examines his character, that it is one upon which he may dwell with pride.

From the conclusion of the treaty of Greenville, the rapid growth of the Miami valleys may be dated; for, after that time, but one great event occurred to embarrass the settlers of that region. This was the failure on the part of Symmes to pay for much of the land which he had sold. But even this difficulty was almost entirely removed by the preëmption laws to which we have referred. The country lying about the junction of Mad River and the Miami, was one of the most valuable portions which were in this situation. Seventeen days after Wayne's treaty, that is, upon the 20th of August, 1795, this tract was purchased of Symmes by St. Clair, James Wilkinson, Jonathan Dayton, and Israel Ludlow, who, during the next month, sent surveyors to lay out their purchase; and, in November, Mr. Ludlow named and surveyed the town of "Dayton," now one of the most flourishing in the State. The settlement of the new town began in the following April.

When it was found, however, that this purchase would not be included in Symmes' patents, the proprietors refused to accept the benefit of the preëmption law, and abandoned their contract; which was taken by Daniel C. Cooper, who realized a fortune from it.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From Cincinnati and Dayton, settlers spread in every direction. And it was not till the country was pretty well filled, that the towns began to grow; the population of Cincinnati increasing but two hundred persons from 1800 to 1805, while the whole region back received about twenty-five thousand emigrants during that time.

The great causes of the rapid advance of the Miami country were, its fertility, ease of access, healthful character, and uncommon amount of water-power. The Muskingum and Scioto valleys are not so broad as those of the Miamies; and the uplands between these last-named streams being upon limestone, while those about the former are based on sandstone, are richer, as well as more level. But the superiority of the Miami country, in respect to water-power, was still more striking. Though as yet but poorly improved in proportion to its capabilities, it at this time moves a very great amount of machinery; as may be seen by the following statement, which we take from a letter written to us by an inhabitant of Dayton, the population of which in 1833 was but three thousand four hundred.

"We have within our corporation three cotton factories; a carpet factory, four stories high, one hundred by forty feet, and now turning out one thousand yards of Ingrain and Venetian carpeting weekly; a gun-barrel manufactory, four stories high, which sends its work through the whole Mississippi valley from Illinois to Louisiana; three large establishments for the making of machinery; a large merchant flour mill; a fulling mill; a saw mill, with a lath factory, and machine for jointing, planing, and grooving boards; and an establishment for sawing stone. All these works are driven by the water of Mad River; and we hope soon to see three times as much more in operation. A company has been formed and chartered to bring the water of this river from a point three miles from town, and throw it into the canal (Miami), above all the works now in use. They will be able to use all the water of the river at one point, with a fall of seventeen feet. Mad River, above the town, affords mill-sites for many miles, at an average distance of about a mile apart."

This writer also says, that, nine miles above Dayton on the Miami, the whole of that river may be applied, with a fall of from thirteen to sixteen feet. And, in addition to these streams, are four large creeks with falls; twelve locks

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon the canal; and several springs affording water enough for mills; "in one case a single spring acts upon three successive wheels of twenty-five feet each."

With such advantages of situation and soil, the valleys of the Miami rivers must become thickly settled and highly cultivated. A canal already connects the interior with Cincinnati, and in a few years, beyond a doubt, the whole region from that city to Lake Erie will be traversed by a canal and a railroad; while from Cincinnati, as a centre, will radiate, in addition to these, a most admirable Macadamized turnpike-road, (now in a great measure finished); a canal and a railroad to Indiana; three other McAdam turnpikes, already constructed in part, two to meet the National road in Ohio, and the third to reach the centre of Kentucky; and that giant railroad, which, crossing Kentucky, Tennessee, and South Carolina, with branches to North Carolina and Georgia, is to rival the Mississippi, and make the West and the South one, as the West and Southwest are already one. *

The population of the region in question, though, like that of all very fertile countries, less generally hardworking than that of the more hilly tract purchased by the Ohio Company, is, to a very uncommon degree, industrious and sober. In the neighbourhood of Dayton great numbers of Germans are settled; and their steady, straight-forward, plodding habits exert a good influence over our more fickle and enterprising countrymen.

Some idea of the nature and amount of the productions of the country lying back of Cincinnati may be had from the following return of articles received at that point by the Miami canal, during the year ending December 1st, 1837.

89,000 bushels of corn,
75,000 barrels of flour,
22,000 " " pork, beside nearly three million pounds of bulk pork, and 1900 hogsheads of hams and shoulders,
54,000 barrels of whiskey,
249,000 pounds of butter, (printed in the canal report "kegs.")

* The Licking is also to be made navigable by slack-water improvements, now in progress. This river runs into the heart of Kentucky.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The exports of Cincinnati in 1826 amounted to but one million of dollars; in 1835 they were computed by an accurate observer at more than six millions. This includes, beside receipts by the canal and wagons, the produce in pork, lard, &c. of 162,000 hogs, driven to Cincinnati, and there killed; and also one hundred steam-engines, two hundred and forty cotton-gins, twenty sugar-mills, and a great variety of other manufactured articles of all kinds;—the results of more than fifty steam-factories at work in and about the city.

This same writer gives the following calculation of the exports of 1836.

Of Pork, ...	$3,000,000
" Flour, ...	600,000
" Whiskey, ...	750,000
" Iron manufactures, ...	2,000,000
" Hats, books, &c.	1,350,000
" Sundries, ...	400,000
	$8,100,000

During that year, also, there were built in Cincinnati, thirty-five steamboats, costing $850,000.

In illustration of the rapidity of the increase in the Miami valley, as compared with that of the Ohio Company's purchase, the following facts are worthy of attention. In 1834, the average value of lands* in Washington county, was, by tax appraisement, $1·23 per acre; in Meigs county, ·92; in Athens county, ·63; in Gallia county, 1·05. These are in the tract bought by the Associates. Let us now look at Symmes's purchase. Hamilton county, $10·00; Montgomery county, 4·53; Butler county, 6·04; Warren county, 5·11.

Turning from the fortunes of the two main settlements made in Ohio before the final peace with the Indians, we come to the history of Galliopolis.† And here we must confess our extreme deficiency of materials, although many of the original settlers are still residing in their "city of the

* This does not show the real value of the land, the appraised value being but about forty per cent. on the true value; but, for comparison, it answers as well as if it were nearer the truth.

† Commonly written *Gallipolis.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

French." And to this deficiency is added confusion, which we have in vain tried to do entirely away.

In May or June, 1788, Joel Barlow left this country for Europe, "authorized to dispose of a very large body of land" in the West.* In 1790, this gentleman distributed proposals in Paris, for the sale of lands, at five shillings per acre, which promised, says Volney, "a climate healthy and delightful; scarcely such a thing as frost in winter; a river called, by way of eminence, 'The Beautiful,' abounding in fish of an enormous size; magnificent forests of a tree from which sugar flows, and a shrub which yields candles; venison in abundance; without foxes, wolves, lions, or tigers; no taxes to pay; no military enrolments; no quarters to find for soldiers. Purchasers became numerous, individuals and whole families disposed of their property; and, in the course of 1791, some embarked at Havre, others at Bordeaux, Nantes, or Rochelle," each with his title-deed in his pocket. † Five hundred settlers, among whom were not a few carvers and gilders to his Majesty, coachmakers, friseurs and peruke-makers,‡ and other artisans and *artistes* equally well fitted for a backwoods life, arrived in the United States in 1791–92; and, acting without concert, travelling without knowledge of the language, customs, or roads, they at last managed to reach the spot designated for their residence, after expending nearly, or quite, the whole proceeds of their sales in France.

They reached the spot designated; but it was only to learn, that the persons whose title-deeds they held did not own one foot of land, and that they had parted with all their worldly goods merely to reach a wilderness, which they knew not how to cultivate, in the midst of a people of whose speech and ways they knew nothing, and at the very moment when the Indians were carrying destruction to every white man's hearth. Without food, without land, with little money, no experience, and with want and danger closing around them, they were in a position, that none but Frenchmen could be in without despair.

Who brought them to this pass? Volney says, the Scioto

---

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. p. 386.

† *View of the Climate and Soil of the United States, &c.*—The sugar-tree was the maple, and the wax-bearing myrtle the shrub that yielded candles.

‡ Brackenridge's *Recollections*, p. 42.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Company, which had bought of the Ohio Company; Mr. Hall says, in his *Letters from the West* (p. 137), a company who had obtained a grant from the United States; and, in his *Statistics of the West* (p. 164), the Scioto Company, which was formed from or by the Ohio Company, as a subordinate. Barlow, he says, was sent to Europe by the Ohio Company; and by them the lands in question were conveyed to the Scioto Company. Kilbourn says, "the Scioto Land Company, which intended to buy of Congress all the tract between the western boundary of the Ohio Company's purchase and the Scioto, directed the French settlers to Gallipolis, supposing it to be west of the Ohio Company's purchase, though it proved not to be." The Company, he tells us, failed to make their payments, and the whole proposed purchase remained with government.*

The last we believe to be the true account. No other connexion existed, so far as we can learn, between the Ohio and Scioto companies than this, that some persons were stockholders in both; so that the want of good faith, charged by most writers on those of whom the French bought, cannot apply in any degree to the Ohio Company. Nor do we know that there was a want of faith at all; the lands were believed to be what Barlow represented them. A contract with government was to have been regularly made, and funds (as we learn) were collected toward the payment. But the treasurer of the Company became bankrupt, and the funds were lost, how we know not. The spot to which the French were directed was supposed to be within the limits of the intended purchase; and, once there, the Company, which had failed, could do nothing for them. As we hold it to be good philosophy, as well as true charity, to choose of two sufficient causes that which involves the least moral guilt, we should ascribe that mingling of private and company concerns, which seems to have ruined the latter, to want of care, and not want of honesty.

But, whatever doubt there may be as to the causes of the suffering, there can be none as to the sufferers. The poor gilders, and carvers, and peruke-makers, who had followed a jack-a-lantern into the literally howling wilderness, found that their lives depended upon their labor. They must clear the

* Kilbourn's *Gazetteer*, 1831.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ground, build their houses, and till their fields. Now the spot upon which they had been located by the Scioto Company was covered in part with those immense button-wood or sycamore trees, which are so frequent along the rivers of the West, and to remove which is no small undertaking even for the American woodman. The coachmakers were wholly at a loss; but at last, hoping to conquer by a *coup-de-main*, they tied ropes to the branches, and while one dozen pulled at them with might and main, another dozen went at the trunk with axes, hatchets, and every variety of edged tool, and by dint of perseverance and cheerfulness at length overcame the monster; though not without some hair-breadth escapes; for, when a mighty tree, that had been hacked on all sides, fell, it required a Frenchman's heels to avoid the sweep of the wide-spread branches. But, when they had felled the vast vegetable, they were little better off than before; for they could not move or burn it. At last a good idea came to their aid; and, while some chopped off the limbs, others dug, by the side of the trunk, a great grave, into which, with many a heave, they rolled their fallen enemy.

Their houses they did not build in the usual straggling American style, but made two rows or blocks of log cabins, each cabin being about sixteen feet square; while at one end was a larger room, which was used as council-chamber and ball-room.

In the way of cultivation they did little. The land was not theirs, and they had no motive to improve it; and, moreover, their coming was in the midst of the Indian war. Here and there a little vegetable garden was formed; but their main supply of food they were forced to buy from boats on the river, by which means their remaining funds were sadly broken in upon. Five of their number were taken by the Indians; food became scarce; in the fall, a marsh behind the town sent up miasmata that produced fevers; then winter came, and, despite Mr. Barlow's promise, brought frost in plenty; and, by and by, they heard from beyond seas of the carnage that was desolating the fire-sides they had left. Never were men in a more mournful situation; but still, twice in the week, the whole colony came together, and to the sound of the violin danced off hunger and care. The savage scout that had been lurking all day in the thicket,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

listened to the strange music, and, hastening to his fellows, told them, that the whites would be upon them, for he had seen them at their war-dance ; and the careful Connecticut man, as he guided his broad-horn in the shadow of the Virginia shore, wondered what mischief "the red-varmint" were at next ; or, if he knew the sound of the fiddle, shook his head, as he thought of the whiskey that must have been used to produce all that merriment.

But French vivacity, though it could work wonders, could not pay for land. Some of the Gallipolis settlers went to Detroit, others to Kaskaskia ; a few bought their lands of the Ohio Company, who treated them with great liberality ; and, in 1795, Congress, being informed of the circumstances, granted to the sufferers twenty-four thousand acres of land opposite Little Sandy River, to which, in 1798, twelve hundred acres more were added ; which tract has been since known as *French Grant*.

The influence of this settlement upon the State was unimportant ; but it forms a curious little episode in Ohio history, and affords a strange example of national character.

Marietta and Cincinnati with their outposts, and Gallipolis, were the only settlements made in Ohio before Wayne's treaty. After that event, the Scioto valley and the Western Reserve were rapidly peopled ; but we are unable to give any facts of value relating to their settlement. The tract between the Little Miami and Scioto rivers had been originally reserved by Virginia for her soldiers ; but, as she allowed locations to be made without having the ground previously surveyed into regular portions, a great deal of overlapping, or shingling of titles (as it is called in the West), has taken place ; and the uncertainty and litigation, therefrom resulting, have diminished the value of a very excellent body of land ; the higher portions being among the best wheat lands in the West.

The fertility of the Scioto valley is proverbial. For the cultivation of maize it is unsurpassed, and the stock-farms which border upon it are among the largest and best in the State. The valley itself is subject to that miasma which produces intermittent fevers ; but this is yearly diminishing. East of the Scioto lies a broken country, through which, from the southwest to the northeast, passes the great iron deposite. There are several beds, and different kinds of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ore, all of which dip toward the east. With the iron is associated bituminous coal; which, though of an ordinary quality in general, and in thin layers, answers for the steam-engines which are used at the furnaces. The amount of available ore in the counties of Jackson, Lawrence, and Scioto, it is estimated by the State geologist, will supply four hundred thousand tons a year for two thousand seven hundred years; and these contain but a third or fourth of the whole deposite, though, from their proximity to the Ohio river, it has been little wrought but in them; there being in the two last-named counties fourteen or fifteen furnaces, producing an average of one thousand tons of pig metal a year. Nor can we omit the Buhrstone deposite, which, adjoining the iron, passes through the very midst of a country that will, in time, be yellow with wheat-fields; and which, for milling purposes, there is reason to think will afford stone nearly or quite equal to the French, when the same skill is used in selecting the blocks.

But that portion of Ohio, which at this time is most flourishing, all things considered, is the Western Reserve, or Connecticut Reserve. This district was retained by Connecticut when she made her transfer to the United States, in 1786, though against the judgment of many of our wisest statesmen.* In 1800, however, the right of jurisdiction was relinquished by the State to the Union, and patents were issued by the United States to the governor of Connecticut, for the use of those persons who had previously bought from her;† by which means all difficulties were quieted. The Reserve included all the land north of the forty-first degree of north latitude, and extended west from Pennsylvania one hundred and twenty miles.‡ It is a level and fertile country; and, though much of it was so wet, when covered with forests, that it was thought by many to be of little value, it has become dry as it has been opened to the sun, and presents at this time as fine an extent of arable and meadow land as can be seen anywhere; diversified, in the southern counties, by little lakes of crystal clearness; and, in point of cultivation,

* *Old Journals*, Vol. IV., pp. 645–648. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. p. 178.

† *Land Laws*, p. 104.

‡ The writer in Silliman's *Journal*, for October, 1836, p. 34, says, the Reserve is bounded south by the Ohio. As it is not marked on our maps, this might mislead some.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fences, and buildings, no district in the West surpasses, if there be any that equals, the Reserve. This is in part owing to the habits of the original settlers, who were principally from Connecticut and Massachusetts; and in part to the fact, that the ground has to be well cleared, ditched, and cultivated, in order that it may be productive. A soil that demands labor that it may be made to yield, and yields a large return when that is given, is the soil that will make its owners most independent; and that boasted fertility of the prairies, which requires little or no pains on the part of the farmer, however much it may suit man's love of ease, is a misfortune, not a blessing.

The Reserve is peculiarly fitted for grazing, and is fast becoming a great cheese and butter making region; some of the cheese made there, is not unlike the Stilton cheese of England. Vast numbers of cattle are also raised there for the market. In point of mineral wealth, this district is not wanting, as the great iron deposite crosses it, and the coal-beds reach its southern borders. And, in respect to water-power, it is, at one point, unsurpassed; the Cuyahoga falling, at the new town called Cuyahoga Falls, two hundred and forty feet in two miles and a half; and affording from four to twenty thousand cubic feet of water per minute.* This point is destined, beyond doubt, to be one of immense importance. The Ohio Canal is within two miles; and the Pennsylvania and Ohio Canal will pass directly through the town, connecting this point, by complete water communication, with New York and New Orleans; and by canal and railroad, with Philadelphia. Every acre in its neighbourhood is capable of cultivation; and coal, lime, and freestone are found in the immediate vicinity.

Of the people of the Reserve we have spoken. They are hard-working and sober. Not more than half the townships, it is said, assess any poor tax. The temperance reform has been more general here than in any other part of Ohio. Thousands have abandoned distilling, notwithstanding its profits; and many farmers will not sell their corn for distillation. The young, also, are taught that industry and economy, which their fathers learned in New England. We have

* *Ohio Gazetteer*, article, *Cuyahoga*. — Silliman's *Journal*, for October, 1836, p. 45.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

known three Western Reserve boys leave home for Connecticut "to get their education," with fifteen dollars among them, and reach New Haven with twelve still in their pockets.* But such journeys are no longer necessary, as the people of the Reserve are building colleges for themselves.

The section of Ohio which was last settled, was the northwest corner; that portion having been retained by the Indians until 1819.† Since it came into the market, it has been rapidly filling up, the land being of an excellent quality, and well watered; and, when the Miami Canal shall be completed to the Maumee, as it will be in a year or two, this will be a very thriving section. Here, also, is a great water-power, the Maumee falling from sixty to seventy feet in the eighteen miles above Perrysburg.

Having thus glanced at the different portions of the State whose fiftieth birthday was commemorated last April, we will but ask our readers to bear with us a little longer, while we touch upon some points in which the State at large is concerned.

The first form of Territorial government was organized in July, 1788; the governor, and most of the leading men of that day, being Federalists. In September, 1799, the legislature, which the people were at that time, under the Ordinance, entitled to elect, assembled at Cincinnati. This body very naturally possessed some of the democratic temper, then prevalent; and the free use, which the governor made of his veto power, caused some clashing between the representatives and himself. In November, 1802, Congress having passed an act authorizing the formation of a State government, a convention met at Chillicothe to form a constitution. This convention was very thoroughly Jeffersonian; and the result of its meeting was a thorough democratic constitution. Of the excellences and defects of this instrument, we have not time to speak; but they are those of a truly popular form of government. Neither can we say any thing, in detail, of the laws that have been passed

* The Reserve boys cannot compete with the native Yankees, however; one of whom, a year or two since, being in the South of Ohio, and wishing to go home, bought him a cow, and, trudging at her heels with his book, lived on her milk and what he got in exchange for it, and sold her at an advance, when he reached his point of destination.

† *Land Laws*, p. 187, *et seq.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the State legislature. They have, in the main, evidenced the good sense and correct principles of the people. The great faults have been, haste in their preparation, continual change, and too much local legislation; all which have resulted from too great a love of making laws.*

But there are three things which have had, and will hereafter have, so great an influence upon the fortunes of Ohio, that we cannot close without a reference to their history; we mean steam-boats, canals, and common schools.

The idea of using steam in the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi occurred to Mr. James Rumsey, of Virginia, as early as the year 1782.† In 1784, his invention had been made known to Washington, who mentions it at the close of his letter to Governor Harrison, respecting internal improvements, dated October 10th of that year; and speaks of it more fully in a letter to Dr. Williamson, written upon the 15th of the following March.‡ Mr. Rumsey also obtained, in 1784, patents from two States; but his plan, which was essentially to pump up water at the head of the boat, and force it out again at the stern (which pumping and forcing were to be done by an old-fashioned atmospheric steam engine), did not ever come into use, though the model of it worked well.

From that time, until Fulton determined to try his steam-boats on the western waters, people contented themselves with arks, keels, and flats. In 1811 and 1812, Mr. Fulton caused to be built at Pittsburg the *Orleans*, of four hundred tons. She left that place in December, 1812, and, passing down the river, presented for the first time to the dwellers upon its banks the spectacle of a self-moving boat. § But, though this did very well for a voyage down the stream, it was found to be even less available than the keel-boat for the passage against the stream; and, from 1812 to 1816, it was thought hopeless to make a steam-boat that should stem the current and ascend the rapids of the Mississippi and Ohio. In 1816, however, Captain Henry M. Shreve (since famous

* Ohio has now thirty-six volumes of general laws. In 1837, were printed one hundred and forty-four pages of general, and six hundred and seventy-eight of local laws.

† *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1819, p. 64.

‡ Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. pp. 68, 104.

§ *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1819, p. 55.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as the inventor of the snag-boats, or "Uncle Sam's tooth-pullers," as the river-men call them,) built at Wheeling the *Washington*, having one large boiler on her upper deck; and, though she was so unlucky as to burst this boiler while at Marietta on her way down,* she reached New Orleans in safety; and, returning to the Falls, first convinced the merchants and mariners of the West that such boats might supersede the keels. But even after this many doubted; and, when the first boat, the *Vesta*, was built at Cincinnati, in 1817, those best fitted to judge, scoffed at the idea, that she could bring freight up stream cheaper than the keel-boats; "Gentlemen," said the builder, a sanguine, and as they thought, mad man, "you now pay five and six dollars a hundred from New Orleans; but we shall some of us live to see steam doing the work for one half that."— He and they have lived to see it reduced to one eighth.

We need say nothing as to the immense influence which has been exerted upon the whole West by the use of steam-boats; their value is self-evident. At present, between six and seven hundred are plying upon the waters that discharge themselves through the Mississippi.

But, vast as must have been the effect of rapid and cheap carriage upon the great rivers and lakes, it would have done but little toward developing the resources of Ohio without those roads and canals which connect the interior with the coast. Long after steam-boats were in full operation, a wet fall and heavy roads made it so difficult to get produce to a market, that wheat-stacks rotted where they stood, or were given over to the swine, as not being worth the threshing. Now, the farmer in the interior may put his cheese or pork into the canal-boat, and, without touching land again, it passes to either extremity of the Union.

The great New York canal was suggested by Gouverneur Morris, in 1777;† but, as early as 1774, Washington tells us, that he had thought of a system of improvements by which to connect the Altantic with the Ohio;‡ which system, ten years later, he tried most perseveringly to induce Virginia to act upon with energy. In the letter to Governor

* Silliman's *Journal*, for October, 1836. p. 1. The writer erroneously states the *Washington* to have been the first Western steam-boat.

† Sparks's *Life of Morris*, Vol. I. p. 497. ‡ Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. p. 31.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Harrison, to which we referred a page or two back, he also suggests, that an examination be made as to the facilities for opening a communication, through the Cuyahoga, and Muskingum or Scioto, between lake Erie and the Ohio. Such a communication had been previously mentioned by Jefferson, in March, 1784; he even proposed a canal to connect the Cuyahoga and Big Beaver. * Three years later, Washington attempted to interest the federal government in his views, and exerted himself, by all the means in his power, to learn the exact state of the country about the sources of the Muskingum and Cuyahoga. † After he was called to the presidency, his mind was employed on other subjects; but the whites, that had meantime begun to people the West, used the course, which he had suggested, (as the Indians had done before them,) to carry goods from the Lake to the settlements on the Ohio; so that it was soon known definitely, that upon the summit level were ponds, through which, in a wet season, a complete water connexion was formed between the Cuyahoga and Muskingum.

From this time till 1817, the public mind underwent various changes; more and more persons becoming convinced that a canal between the heads of two rivers was far less desirable, in every point of view, than a complete canal communication from place to place, following the valleys of the rivers, and drawing water from them. In 1815, Dr. Drake, of Cincinnati, proposed a canal from some point on the Great Miami to the city in which he resided; ‡ and in January, 1818, Mr., afterwards Governor Brown, writes thus, "Experience, the best guide, has tested the infinite superiority of this mode of commercial intercourse over the best roads, or any navigation of the beds of small rivers. In comparing it with the latter, I believe you will find the concurrent testimony of the most skilful and experienced engineers of France and England, against the river, and in favor of the canal, for very numerous reasons." §

In accordance with these views, Mr. Brown made every inquiry respecting the feasibility of canals from the mouth of

* Jefferson's *Correspondence*, Vol. II. p. 222.
† See Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. pp. 214, 291, 303, *et seq.*
‡ Drake's *Picture of Cincinnati*, p. 224.
§ *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1819, p. 73.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Cuyahoga to the Ohio, and from Dayton to Cincinnati; and in 1820, being then executive of the State, laid his views before the legislature.* Four years were devoted to making surveys and estimates, and arousing people to the utility of the proposed measure; and, in 1824, two lines were definitely determined on, the one beginning at the mouth of the Scioto River, crossing by the valley of the Licking to the upper Muskingum, and thence to the Lake; the second connecting Cincinnati with the Lake, by the valleys of the Great Miami, Loramie's Creek, the Auglaize, and the Maumee. The subject was now ready for legislative action, and in February, 1825, an act was passed, authorizing the construction of the route from the mouth of the Scioto, through to the Lake; and of the other, to Dayton. The only opposition to this act was by some of the land-owners in the eastern part of the State, and most of them were finally led to change their views.

The first cost of the Miami Canal, which connects Cincinnati with the fertile country lying back, was about $900,000, it being a little more than sixty-seven miles long. During the year ending October 31st, 1837, this canal received in tolls &c., deducting contingent expenses, about $57,000.

The Ohio Canal cost $4,244,539; its length being three hundred and thirty-three miles. During the year ending October 31st, 1837, the net income was something over $280,000.†

The Miami Canal has been since extended thirty miles beyond Dayton; and, at this time, the whole line, with the exception of fifty-three miles, is under contract, to its junction with the Wabash and Erie Canal, near Defiance.

The Wabash and Erie Canal begins at the head of steamboat navigation upon the great river of Indiana; and after passing into Ohio, extends about eighty-seven miles and then enters the Maumee. The whole line is under contract.

The other State works now in progress, are the Walhonding Canal, which passes from the Ohio Canal up the Walhonding or Whitewoman's River, and which will ultimately be extended up the various branches of that river into the

* Chase, *Statutes*, Vol. I. p. 44.

† This is the net income paid into the treasury, without deducting repairs, &c. See abstract of statistics, at the close of this article.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

counties of Richland, Knox, Holmes, and Wayne; the Hocking Canal, by which the Ohio Canal and Ohio River will be connected; the Muskingum River improvements, by which the Ohio Canal and Muskingum will be connected, and the latter be made navigable for steam-boats; the national road; and a side cut from the Miami Canal, of twenty miles. In addition to these public works, are two company canals connecting the Ohio Canal and Ohio River at different points; the one entering Pennsylvania and passing down the Big Beaver River, the other entering the Ohio just at the State line; and also the Whitewater Canal, connecting Cincinnati with the great Indiana Canal, and so with the whole interior of that State. There are also in progress, two railroads from Sandusky, one to connect with the Miami Canal at Dayton, the other running into the centre of Huron County.

But perhaps the best idea that we can give of the commercial facilities, natural and acquired, of Ohio, will be by the following statement, showing the number of counties bordering on the Ohio and Lake Erie, and also how many are crossed by a canal, railroad, or Macadamized road, now *actually made or in progress.*

There are in Ohio seventy-five counties. *

Upon the Ohio River lie	14
and, of these, seven have through their interior either a canal, railroad, or Macadamized road.	
Upon the Lake, lie	7
and, of these, three have through their interior a railroad or canal.	
Canals, now made or making, pass through .	32
Railroads, now in progress, pass through . .	6
Macadamized roads, made or in progress, pass through	5
Of the seventy-five, remain unimproved by canal, railroad, or McAdam road, though most have turnpike roads, ...	11
	75

And nowhere, among those yet mentioned, have we included ten canal, and forty-one railroad companies, which have as yet done nothing; though, in some of the largest, suffi-

* Not including a new county erected last winter, called Erie.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cient stock is taken to enable them to begin operations as soon as the money market is easier.

Nor should we omit to mention, that by a law of 1836-7, when one half of the stock of a turnpike-road, or two thirds of that of a canal, or railroad, is taken by individuals, and the object is approved of by those who have charge of the public works of the State, the governor is authorized to subscribe in the name of the State for the balance. Under this law, in January last, nine turnpike-roads, three railroads, and two canals had been approved of by the Board of Public Works; and, in February, the State had become interested with individuals and companies to the amount of $1,054,311·10.

The third of these improvements, which have produced, and will produce, the most permanent influence on Ohio, is the system of common schools.

The Ordinance of 1787 provided, that, "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be for ever encouraged." In the previous Ordinance of 1785, regulating the sale of lands in the West, Section No. 16 of every township was reserved "for the maintenance of public schools within the said township." And the Constitution of Ohio, using the words of the Ordinance of 1787, says, that "schools and the means of instruction shall for ever be encouraged by legislative provision." In accordance with the feelings shown in these several clauses, the governors of Ohio always mentioned the subject of education with great respect in their messages, but nothing was done to make it general. It was supposed, that people would not willingly be taxed to educate the children of their poor neighbours; not so much because they failed to perceive the necessity that exists for all to be educated, in order that the commonwealth may be safe and prosperous; but because a vast number, that lived in Ohio, still doubted whether Ohio would be their ultimate abiding-place. They came to the West to make money rather than to find a home, and did not care to help educate those whose want of education they might never feel.

Such was the state of things until about the year 1816, at which time several persons in Cincinnati, who knew the benefits of a free-school system, united, and commenced a correspondence with different portions of the State. Their

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ideas being warmly responded to, by the dwellers in the Ohio Company's purchase, and the Western Reserve more particularly, committees of correspondence were appointed in the different sections, and various means were resorted to, to call the attention of the public to the subject; among the most efficient of which was the publication of an *Education Almanac* at Cincinnati. This work was edited by Nathan Guilford, a lawyer of that place, who had from the first taken a deep interest in the matter. For seven or eight years this gentleman and his associates labored silently and ceaselessly to diffuse their sentiments, before any attempt was made to bring the subject into the legislature. At length, in 1824, it having been ascertained, that a strong feeling existed in favor of a common-school system through the eastern and northeastern parts of the State, and it being also known that the western men, who were then bringing forward their canal schemes, wished to secure the assistance of their less immediately benefited fellow-citizens, it was thought to be a favorable time to bring the free-school proposition forward; the understanding being, that, as neither the friends of canals, nor those of schools, were strong enough by themselves to carry their project, each should assist the other. This understanding, which was rather implied than expressed, has led some to say, that the free-school system was attained by "log-rolling"; which saying, though true in one sense, is not to be understood in the sense that refers to individual solicitation and promise. On this occasion Cincinnati sent to the Senate Mr. Guilford, whose avowed and main object in thus entering public life was to help on the accomplishment of his favorite project, and to that he devoted himself during the session. Many thought his toil useless; some of the leading men said, the measure was unconstitutional, unwise, and against popular feeling entirely; but they proved false prophets, as it was carried by a very large vote, and became a popular measure.

The Reverend Manasseh Cutler, one of the leading directors of the Ohio Company, stood by the side of the chief projector of the school-law at the bar of the House of Representatives when the final vote was taken upon it; and, as the Speaker announced the result, the old man raised his hands and uttered the words of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mine eyes have seen thy salvation!" It was a touching and true tribute.

Mr. Guilford, having brought about the particular good which he had in view, became a private citizen again, setting to the common political aspirants of the country an example well worthy their consideration. He still lives, and praise would here be misplaced; but no one can doubt, looking only to the object he effected, that his name will ever be remembered with those of the great benefactors of Ohio and the West.

During the thirteen years, that have passed since free schools were first established, some changes have been made in the laws respecting them, one of the most important of which was the appointment, eighteen months since, of a Superintendent, whose business it is to collect all the information possible respecting the state of the public schools, of the school funds, and of the effects of the system, which he is to make public annually, in the form of a Report to the legislature; and, to assist in the diffusion of his knowledge, he is, by the school law of the past winter, to publish a journal every second month, devoted to education. The Superintendent made his first Report last January, which Report was very favorable, inasmuch as it represents the people throughout the State to be very anxious to have such measures taken, as shall render the means of general education more accessible than they have yet been made. The Report contains sixty-five pages, and exhibits at length the evils of the present arrangement, with suggestions for the future; which suggestions, having been embodied in an act, were, in the main, adopted with great unanimity by the legislature, much of whose time and attention last winter was given to the subject of education. The great evils have been a want of funds, and an injudicious division of those that the State possessed. The idea now brought forward is, to have, yearly, two hundred thousand dollars, at least, distributed through the State, according to the number of youth in each township, on such principles as will secure to each township an equal additional sum, to be raised by the townships respectively; by which plan every child in the State would have about eighty cents yearly. For the present state of the school funds, we refer our readers to the statistical abstract, at the close of this article.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another legislative step, which showed the feeling that exists on the subject of education, was the commission given to Professor Stowe, two years since, to examine the public schools of Europe, whither he was going to purchase a library for Lane Seminary. His Report was made to the legislature during the last winter, and is a very interesting one; clear, condensed, and practical. This feeling has shown itself also by education conventions, and in the yearly meeting of teachers, which takes place at Cincinnati.

Nor have High Schools and Colleges been disregarded by Ohio, though it is the general feeling that they, as the Superintendent says, "will, as a natural consequence, grow out of good common schools." In the Ohio Company's purchase two townships were given by Congress for a university, and its place of location was called Athens. The present income from the lands owned by this institution is four thousand dollars. There are four professorships, and, during 1835 – 6, this College had from ninety-five to one hundred students; during the present year there are but fifty-three.

There is another college at Marietta, established in 1832, which is doing very well.

In the Miami neighbourhood are, — the Miami University, at Oxford, Butler county, chartered in 1809, endowed with one township of excellent land, and now containing about one hundred and sixty students; — the Cincinnati College, at Cincinnati, incorporated in 1819, but, for many years previous to 1835, entirely quiescent; now, however, in full operation again, having, in March last, an Academical Department with one hundred and eighty-two scholars, most of them youths in the primary and preparatory classes; a law class of eighteen; and a medical class of one hundred and twenty-five; with eighteen teachers; — the Woodward College and High School, at Cincinnati, well endowed, and having about one hundred and fifty students; — and the Lane Seminary, about two miles from Cincinnati, which is now a purely theological seminary, of the Presbyterian sect. This institution, in March last, contained forty-two students, and five teachers; it also possesses a library of ten thousand volumes, which is, for its size, one of the most complete in the United States.

In the Western Reserve, we have the Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Portage county, with one hundred and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seven scholars, two years since; the Willoughby University, in Cuyahoga county, incorporated in 1834, and but partially organized; and the Oberlin Institute, in Lorraine county, incorporated in 1834, and containing, in 1836, three hundred and ten students, ninety-two of whom were girls.

Besides these, are Kenyon College, at Gambia, Knox county, an Episcopal Seminary, with one hundred thousand dollars' worth of property, and educating more than two hundred students; Franklin College, in Harrison county, chartered in 1825, from which, in 1837, graduated nine young men; and two Medical colleges, one at Worthington, Franklin county, and the other at Cincinnati, the latter being a State institution.*

We may also mention, in this connexion, the State Institution for the Deaf and Dumb; the ninth Annual Report of which, in 1837, shows that one hundred and twenty-seven persons have received instruction therein;—that for the Blind, opened a year since, and containing eleven pupils, under the temporary arrangement which exists until the building, now erecting, is finished;—and the Lunatic Asylum, which, it is thought, will be in operation during the coming autumn; the building (of two hundred and ninety-five feet front, and capable of containing one hundred and twenty patients, each having a room, beside officers, and those patients that require strict confinement,) being nearly completed.

We have thus, in a hasty and incomplete, but we trust, not wholly useless manner, presented an outline of the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial advantages of the State of Ohio; together with the prospect she has for affording to all her children an ample intellectual education. We will now only point to some of the more prominent influences, that will bear upon the individual spiritual well-being of her citizens;—that object for which government, civilization, and knowledge, all exist; and leave our readers to prophesy, each for himself, her future destiny.

The necessity for industry on the part of the people of Ohio, to which we have already referred, we regard as an important element toward determining the spiritual character of that people. To this we now add,—the climate, that permits labor, and, during most of the year, makes it grateful; the absence of slavery, which prevents the un-

* For most of these facts we are indebted to the *Ohio Gazetteer*, of 1837.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

natural prejudice against bodily labor, which that institution produces; the division of the soil among its tillers; their freehold tenure; the mixed character of the people, in respect to religious faith, social views, political and sectional prejudices, — which mixture tends to make men less bigoted, and more catholic in their spirit; the ease with which every community is approached by those from other portions, which forbids local habits and prejudices; political freedom; a continual striving for social equality, which is, in substance, an antagonism to a reverence for mere wealth and professional knowledge, unsupported by ability and worth; and a general disposition not to reject religion, but to refuse to receive any form of religious faith on the mere word of a teacher. These, with almost universal comfort in physical matters, and very general wealth; and, also, universal information; and every form of Christianity; are, we believe, the influences that Ohio contains within herself for the future developement of her children. Whether they may be expected, considered with reference to the external influences that will also bear upon her, to produce something like a Christian State, socially, politically, and religiously, all may judge as well as we. But if they do not, if, on the contrary, they lead to worldliness, and anarchy, and irreligion, — are we therefore to despair? Because this people is not fitted for freedom, is freedom, therefore, not fitted for man? We reject all such views. Through freedom alone can man become what he should be; and, though America may but prove, what other lands have proved, each in its time, that he is still unfitted to escape wholly from pupilage, we look forward with not only hope, but faith, to the day when society shall be, not a mass of warring parties, but a Christian brotherhood; and we do this because, in the past, we see man ever advancing to this point.

In conclusion we give the following statistical abstract.

Population of Ohio.

By the census of 1830, it was 937,903, of which number 9,568 were free blacks. Now estimated at more than a million and a half, by the best judges.

Lands.

Ohio contains about twenty-five million acres.
In 1831, the United States still owned five million acres;
" 1837, they owned not more than three million.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In 1834, seventeen million acres were returned for taxation, at an average value (excluding town lots) of a little less than three dollars ;

" 1837, the returns from sixty-one counties (those from fourteen not being reported) gave about fourteen millions and a half of acres.

The value of the whole real estate of Ohio (fifteen million acres and town lots) in 1836, was estimated at $ 67,800,000

The Committee on Finance (March, 1838,) think it should have been 200,000,000

Or, if the estimate be on twenty-two million acres, 235,000,000

STATE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

Receipts during the year ending Nov. 15th,						1836,	205,922·44
"	"	"	"	"	"	1837,	301,543·28
Expenses "		"	"	"	"	1836,	208,276·17
"	"	"	"	"	"	1837,	274,071·40

Of the Receipts for 1837,

Taxes on assessed property, (lands and houses, town lots, merchants' capital, pleasure carriages, horses, and cattle,)	214,209·15
Tax on banks, insurance companies, and bridge companies, ...	48,378·07
Tax on lawyers and physicians, . . .	1910·59
Tax on pedlers, ...	1086·08
Former appropriations repaid, about . .	3000·00

Of the Expenses for 1837.

The legislature cost, ...	49,988·55
Stationery, ...	10,688·09
Printing, ...	17,692·44
State officers and judges, ...	23,070·53

Large sums were expended on the public asylums, &c.

The rate of taxation varies in the different counties. In Hamilton county, in 1837, it was about eighteen mills on the dollar ; three and a quarter for State and canal purposes, and nearly six and a half for county purposes. In Trumbull county, it was between twelve and thirteen mills. The Finance Committee estimate, on the present assessment of property, an average, through the State, of from eleven and a half to fourteen mills.

For expenses of State government,	2 mills.
" canals, ...	2 "
" schools, ...	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "
" roads, ...	2 "
" sundries, ...	3 "
Towns and cities, . . .	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This is on an assessment, which makes the whole property of Ohio but $91,250,000. The Committee think a true estimate would make it $291,000,000. So that taxes are only nominally high, on the true valuation; one mill and a half being enough for all purposes.

STATE DEBTS.—JANUARY 1st, 1838.

Borrowed at 5 per cent.	$550,000
" 6 " "	*4,670,000
" from School Funds, at 6 per cent. .	1,067,005
Other debts, amounting to nearly . . .	149,000

It is estimated that the cost of the public works, now in hand, will, with the above and the State subscription to private works, cause the State debt, in three or four years, to be $13,500,000.

CANALS.

Ohio Canal; net tolls to October 31st, 1837,	$282,407·28
Expended in repairs and new work, to December 1st, 1837, ...	155,751·55
Miami Canal; net tolls to October 31st, 1837,	54,307·12
Expenses, including large purchases of land, to obtain water power, ...	85,635·96
Expenditures during 1837, on other State works,	436,298·55
In 1835, Canal interest and expenses came to .	309,891·47
Their whole revenue, deducting repairs,	155,777·59
" 1836, Expenses were	294,463·30
Revenue was but	138,930·33
" 1837, Expenses were	409,540·54
Revenue	280,782·53
For 1838, the estimated expenses are . .	435,656·00
" " " revenue is . .	373,686·00

The above statements refer to all the State works, except the Wabash and Erie, and the Dayton and Maumee Canals; the interest upon the cost of which may be paid, it is thought, without taxes, in consequence of the public lands given by the United States toward their construction.

As yet, the net revenue from tolls on the canals, has not been more than three per cent. on the cost; and, while new works are making, that for some time yield little, this deficiency will continue.

On the Ohio and Miami Canals, the receipts are rapidly approaching the interest on their cost; in 1838, allowing less

* This is from the *Report* of the Finance Committee; the Auditor's *Special Report*, February 8th, makes it $1,200,000 more.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than the annual increase for some years past, we may expect

the tolls to be, net,	$360,000
Repairs and superintendence,	80,000
Net revenue, 4½ per cent.	280,000
Interest on their cost, (say, $6,000,000,)	355,000
To be made up by taxes, &c.	$75,000

The following table shows the increase of the exportation of some of the staples, by the Ohio Canal, northward, through Cleveland; and also of the tolls.

	1833.	1834.	1836.	1837.
Wheat, bushels,	386,760	333,868	464,756	548,697
Corn, "	74,913	2,653	392,281	280,374
Coal, mineral,	49,131	95,634	84,924	184,646
Flour, barrels,	98,302	105,326	167,539	207,593
Pork, "	22,758	33,884	13,496	43,513
Lard, pounds,	498,724	825,648	636,409	1,555,536

	Tolls received at Cleveland.	Tolls received on whole line of the Ohio Canal.	Tolls received on both Canals.
In 1833,	$51,835·74	$136,092·70	$186,563·33
" 1834,	62,730·35	159,977·23	210,018·22
" 1836,	60,583·36	206,864·91	257,975·43
" 1837,	80,051·26	292,836·10	355,769·50

N. B. This account of tolls is of each year to December 1st; and therefore differs, somewhat, from the returns to November 1st, previously given. The great rise from 1836 to 1837 is, in part, owing to an increase in the rate of tolls.

Schools.

Number of School Districts in Ohio, more than	3,000
" Children between four and twenty-one years, more than	500 000
" Children at school, nearly	228,000
" Public Schools, 4,336 } " Private " 2,175 }	6,511
" Teachers, male and female, about	8,000
Amount paid teachers yearly, public and private,	$465,738
Number of School-houses,	4,378

School Funds.

School lands sold, and proceeds funded, and, excepting $6,800, paying 6 per cent.	$1,153,239·56
Proceeds of lands sold and not paid in,	400,000·00
Lands unsold, but generally paying rent,	880,000·00

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Interest on funded proceeds, and receipts from unsold lands,	$88,786·34
Taxes for school purposes,	140,000·00
Interest on surplus revenue,	100,363·00
Subscription, &c.	109,788·00
To be paid for tuition to public schools, 1837–8,	$438,937·34

N. B. The school lands include, beside the section given for education by the Ordinance of 1785, lands given in lieu thereof in the Virginia Reservation, in the Connecticut Reservation, and in the United States Military District; and also the Salt Lands. In addition to the above revenue, the legislature, during the past winter, gave to the School Fund the tax on banks, &c.; and the whole revenue for 1838–9, will be more than $500,000.

PENITENTIARY.

Receipts from labor of convicts, for the year ending November 30th, 1837,	$42,920·96
Expenses of every kind during that year,	34,768·44
Net profit,	8,152·52
To which should be added, labor of convicts on the Penitentiary itself,	4,405·45
	$12,557·97

Number of prisoners December 1st, 1836,	314	
Received during the year 1837,	145	459
Discharged (26), pardoned (24), died, &c.		67
December 1st, 1837,		392

In 1835, were received 150 new prisoners; in 1836, 112; in 1837, 145. Of the 145 convicted during the last year, 18 were guilty of burglary; 18 of counterfeiting; 47 of grand larceny; 20 of horse stealing. From New York, were 32 of them; 23 from Pennsylvania; 21 from Ohio; 11 from Virginia; and 15 from the New England States.

ART. II. — *The Poetical Works of* JOHN MILTON. A new Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Co. 1836.

THE discovery of the lost work of Milton, the treatise "Of the Christian Doctrine," in 1823, drew a sudden attention to his name. For a short time the literary journals were filled with disquisitions on his genius; new editions of his works, and new compilations of his life, were published.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the new-found book having, in itself, less attraction than any other work of Milton, the curiosity of the public as quickly subsided, and left the poet to the enjoyment of his permanent fame, or to such increase or abatement of it only, as is incidental to a sublime genius, quite independent of the momentary challenge of universal attention to his claims.

But, if the new and temporary renown of the poet is silent again, it is nevertheless true, that he has gained, in this age, some increase of permanent praise. The fame of a great man is not rigid and stony like his bust. It changes with time. It needs time to give it due perspective. It was very easy to remark an altered tone in the criticism when Milton re-appeared as an author, fifteen years ago, from any that had been bestowed on the same subject before. It implied merit indisputable and illustrious; yet so near to the modern mind as to be still alive and life-giving. The aspect of Milton, to this generation, will be part of the history of the nineteenth century. There is no name in literature between his age and ours, that rises into any approach to his own. And as a man's fame, of course, characterizes those who give it, as much as him who receives it, the new criticism indicated a change in the public taste, and a change which the poet himself might claim to have wrought.

The reputation of Milton had already undergone one or two revolutions long anterior to its recent aspects. In his lifetime, he was little, or not at all, known as a poet, but obtained great respect from his contemporaries as an accomplished scholar, and a formidable controvertist. His poem fell unregarded among his countrymen. His prose writings, especially the "Defence of the English People," seem to have been read with avidity. These tracts are remarkable compositions. They are earnest, spiritual, rich with allusion, sparkling with innumerable ornaments; but, as writings designed to gain a practical point, they fail. They are not effective, like similar productions of Swift and Burke; or, like what became, also, controversial tracts, several masterly speeches in the history of the American Congress. Milton seldom deigns a glance at the obstacles, that are to be overcome before that which he proposes can be done. There is no attempt to conciliate, — no mediate, no preparatory course suggested, — but, peremptory and impassioned, he demands, on the instant, an ideal justice. Therein they are discriminat-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ed from modern writings, in which a regard to the actual is all but universal.

Their rhetorical excellence must also suffer some deduction. They have no perfectness. These writings are wonderful for the truth, the learning, the subtilty and pomp of the language; but the whole is sacrificed to the particular. Eager to do fit justice to each thought, he does not subordinate it so as to project the main argument. He writes whilst he is heated; the piece shows all the rambles and resources of indignation; but he has never *integrated* the parts of the argument in his mind. The reader is fatigued with admiration, but is not yet master of the subject.

Two of his pieces may be excepted from this description, one for its faults, the other for its excellence. The "Defence of the People of England," on which his contemporary fame was founded, is, when divested of its pure Latinity, the worst of his works. Only its general aim, and a few elevated passages, can save it. We could be well content, if the flames to which it was condemned at Paris, at Toulouse, and at London, had utterly consumed it. The lover of his genius will always regret, that he should not have taken counsel of his own lofty heart at this, as at other times, and have written from the deep convictions of love and right, which are the foundations of civil liberty. There is little poetry, or prophecy, in this mean and ribald scolding. To insult Salmasius, not to acquit England, is the main design. What under heaven had Madame de Saumaise, or the manner of living of Saumaise, or Salmasius, or his blunders of grammar, or his niceties of diction, to do with the solemn question, whether Charles Stuart had been rightly slain? Though it evinces learning and critical skill, yet, as an historical argument, it cannot be valued with similar disquisitions of Robertson and Hallam, and even less celebrated scholars. But, when he comes to speak of the reason of the thing, then he always recovers himself. The voice of the mob is silent, and Milton speaks. And the peroration, in which he implores his countrymen to refute this adversary by their great deeds, is in a just spirit. The other piece, is his "Areopagitica," the discourse, addressed to the Parliament, in favor of removing the censorship of the press; the most splendid of his prose works. It is, as Luther said of one of Melancthon's writings, "alive, hath hands and feet,—and not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

like Erasmus's sentences, which were made, not grown." The weight of the thought is equalled by the vivacity of the expression, and it cheers as well as teaches. This tract is far the best known, and the most read of all, and is still a magazine of reasons for the freedom of the press. It is valuable in history as an argument addressed to a government to produce a practical end, and plainly presupposes a very peculiar state of society.

But deeply as that peculiar state of society, in which and for which Milton wrote, has engraved itself in the remembrance of the world, it shares the destiny which overtakes every thing local and personal in nature; and the accidental facts, on which a battle of principles was fought, have already passed, or are fast passing, into oblivion. We have lost all interest in Milton as the redoubted disputant of a sect; but by his own innate worth this man has steadily risen in the world's reverence, and occupies a more imposing place in the mind of men at this hour than ever before.

It is the aspect, which he presents to this generation, that alone concerns us. Milton, the controvertist, has lost his popularity long ago; and if we skip the pages of "Paradise Lost" where "God the Father argues like a school divine," so did the next age to his own. But we are persuaded, he kindles a love and emulation in us, which he did not in foregoing generations. We think we have seen and heard criticism upon the poems, which the bard himself would have more valued than the recorded praise of Dryden, Addison, and Johnson, because it came nearer to the mark; was finer and closer appreciation; the praise of intimate knowledge and delight; and, of course, more welcome to the poet than the general and vague acknowledgment of his genius by those able, but unsympathizing critics. We think we have heard the recitation of his verses by genius, which found in them that which itself would say; recitation which told, in the diamond sharpness of every articulation, that now first was such perception and enjoyment possible; the perception and enjoyment of all his varied rhythm, and his perfect fusion of the classic and the English styles. This is a poet's right; for every masterpiece of art goes on for some ages reconciling the world unto itself, and despotically fashioning the public ear. The opposition to it, always greatest at first, continually decreases and at last ends; and a new race grows

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up in the taste and spirit of the work, with the utmost advantage for seeing intimately its power and beauty.

But it would be great injustice to Milton to consider him as enjoying merely a critical reputation. It is the prerogative of this great man to stand at this hour foremost of all men in literary history, and so (shall we not say?) of all men, in the power *to inspire*. Virtue goes out of him into others. Leaving out of view the pretensions of our contemporaries (always an incalculable influence), we think no man can be named, whose mind still acts on the cultivated intellect of England and America with an energy comparable to that of Milton. As a poet, Shakspeare undoubtedly transcends, and far surpasses him in his popularity with foreign nations; but Shakspeare is a voice merely; who and what he was that sang, that sings, we know not. Milton stands erect, commanding, still visible as a man among men, and reads the laws of the moral sentiment to the newborn race. There is something pleasing in the affection with which we can regard a man who died a hundred and sixty years ago in the other hemisphere, who, in respect to personal relations, is to us as the wind, yet by an influence purely spiritual makes us jealous for his fame as for that of a near friend. He is identified in the mind with all select and holy images, with the supreme interests of the human race. If hereby we attain any more precision, we proceed to say, that we think no man in these later ages, and few men ever, possessed so great a conception of the manly character. Better than any other he has discharged the office of every great man, namely, to raise the idea of Man in the minds of his contemporaries and of posterity, — to draw after nature a life of man, exhibiting such a composition of grace, of strength, and of virtue, as poet had not described nor hero lived. Human nature in these ages is indebted to him for its best portrait. Many philosophers in England, France, and Germany, have formally dedicated their study to this problem; and we think it impossible to recall one in those countries, who communicates the same vibration of hope, of self-reverence, of piety, of delight in beauty, which the name of Milton awakens. Lord Bacon, who has written much and with prodigious ability on this science, shrinks and falters before the absolute and uncourtly Puritan. Bacon's Essays are the portrait of an ambitious and profound calculator, — a great man of the vulgar

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sort. Of the upper world of man's being they speak few and faint words. The man of Locke is virtuous without enthusiasm, and intelligent without poetry. Addison, Pope, Hume, and Johnson, students, with very unlike temper and success, of the same subject, cannot, taken together, make any pretension to the amount, or the quality, of Milton's inspirations. The man of Lord Chesterfield is unworthy to touch his garment's hem. Franklin's man is a frugal, inoffensive, thrifty citizen, but savours of nothing heroic. The genius of France has not, even in her best days, yet culminated in any one head, — not in Rousseau, not in Pascal, not in Fenelon, — into such perception of all the attributes of humanity, as to entitle it to any rivalry in these lists. In Germany, the greatest writers are still too recent to institute a comparison; and yet we are tempted to say, that art and not life seems to be the end of their effort. But the idea of a purer existence than any he saw around him, to be realized in the life and conversation of men, inspired every act and every writing of John Milton. He defined the object of education to be, "to fit a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." He declared, that "he who would aspire to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honorablest things, not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy." Nor is there in literature a more noble outline of a wise external education, than that which he drew up, at the age of thirty-six, in his Letter to Samuel Hartlib. The muscles, the nerves, and the flesh, with which this skeleton is to be filled up and covered, exist in his works and must be sought there.

For the delineation of this heroic image of man, Milton enjoyed singular advantages. Perfections of body and of mind are attributed to him by his biographers, that, if the anecdotes had come down from a greater distance of time, or had not been in part furnished or corroborated by political enemies, would lead us to suspect the portraits were ideal, like the Cyrus of Xenophon, the Telemachus of Fenelon, or the popular traditions of Alfred the Great.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Handsome to a proverb, he was called the lady of his college. Aubrey says, "This harmonical and ingenuous soul dwelt in a beautiful and well proportioned body." His manners and his carriage did him no injustice. Wood, his political opponent, relates, that "his deportment was affable, his gait erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness." Aubrey adds a sharp trait, that "he pronounced the letter R very hard, a certain sign of a satirical genius." He had the senses of a Greek. His eye was quick, and he was accounted an excellent master of his rapier. His ear for music was so acute, that he was not only enthusiastic in his love, but a skilful performer himself; and his voice, we are told, was delicately sweet and harmonious. He insists that music shall make a part of a generous education.

With these keen perceptions, he naturally received a love of nature, and a rare susceptibility to impressions from external beauty. In the midst of London, he seems, like the creatures of the field and the forest, to have been tuned in concord with the order of the world; for, he believed, his poetic vein only flowed from the autumnal to the vernal equinox; and, in his essay on Education, he doubts whether, in the fine days of spring, any study can be accomplished by young men. "In those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature, not to go out and see her riches and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth." His sensibility to impressions from beauty needs no proof from his history; it shines through every page. The form and the voice of Leonora Baroni seem to have captivated him in Rome, and to her he addressed his Italian sonnets and Latin epigrams.

To these endowments it must be added, that his address and his conversation were worthy of his fame. His house was resorted to by men of wit, and foreigners came to England, we are told, "to see the Lord Protector and Mr. Milton." In a letter to one of his foreign correspondents, Emeric Bigot, and in reply apparently to some compliment on his powers of conversation, he writes; "Many have been celebrated for their compositions, whose common conversation and intercourse have betrayed no marks of sublimity or genius. But, as far as possible, I aim to show myself equal in thought and speech to what I have written, if I have written any thing well."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These endowments received the benefit of a careful and happy discipline. His father's care, seconded by his own endeavour, introduced him to a profound skill in all the treasures of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Italian tongues; and, to enlarge and enliven his elegant learning, he was sent into Italy, where he beheld the remains of ancient art, and the rival works of Raphael, Michael Angelo, and Correggio; where, also, he received social and academical honors from the learned and the great. In Paris, he became acquainted with Grotius; in Florence or Rome, with Galileo; and probably no traveller ever entered that country of history with better right to its hospitality, none upon whom its influences could have fallen more congenially.

Among the advantages of his foreign travel, Milton certainly did not count it the least, that it contributed to forge and polish that great weapon of which he acquired such extraordinary mastery, — his power of language. His lore of foreign tongues added daily to his consummate skill in the use of his own. No individual writer has been an equal benefactor of the English tongue by showing its capabilities. Very early in life he became conscious that he had more to say to his fellow-men than they had fit words to embody. At nineteen years, in a college exercise, he addresses his native language, saying to it, that it would be his choice to leave trifles for a grave argument, —

> "Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
> Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound;
> Such where the deep transported mind may soar
> Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
> Look in, and see each blissful deity,
> How he before the thunderous throne doth lie."

Michael Angelo calls "him alone an artist, whose hands can execute what his mind has conceived." The world, no doubt, contains very many of that class of men whom Wordsworth denominates "*silent poets*," whose minds teem with images which they want words to clothe. But Milton's mind seems to have no thought or emotion which refused to be recorded. His mastery of his native tongue was more than to use it as well as any other; he cast it into new forms. He uttered in it things unheard before. Not imitating, but rivalling Shakspeare, he scattered, in tones of prolonged and delicate melody, his pastoral and romantic

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fancies; then, soaring into unattempted strains, he made it capable of an unknown majesty, and bent it to express every trait of beauty, every shade of thought; and searched the kennel and jakes as well as the palaces of sound for the harsh discords of his polemic wrath. We may even apply to his performance on the instrument of language, his own description of music;

"— notes, with many a winding bout
Of linked sweetness long drawn out,
With wanton heed and giddy cunning,
The melting voice through mazes running,
Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony."

But, whilst Milton was conscious of possessing this intellectual voice, penetrating through ages, and propelling its melodious undulations forward through the coming world, he knew also, that this mastery of language was a secondary power, and he respected the mysterious source whence it had its spring; namely, clear conceptions, and a devoted heart. "For me," he said, in his "Apology for Smectymnuus," "although I cannot say, that I am utterly untrained in those rules which best rhetoricians have given, or unacquainted with those examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written in any learned tongue, yet true eloquence I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth; and that whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words, by what I can express, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places."

But, as basis or fountain of his rare physical and intellectual accomplishments, the man Milton was just and devout. He is rightly dear to mankind, because in him, — among so many perverse and partial men of genius, — in him humanity rights itself; the old eternal goodness finds a home in his breast, and for once shows itself beautiful. His gifts are subordinated to his moral sentiments. And his virtues are so graceful, that they seem rather talents than labors. Among so many contrivances as the world has seen to make holiness ugly, in Milton, at least, it was so pure a flame,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the foremost impression his character makes, is that of elegance. The victories of the conscience in him are gained by the commanding charm, which all the severe and restrictive virtues have for him. His virtues remind us of what Plutarch said of Timoleon's victories, that they resembled Homer's verses, they ran so easy and natural. His habits of living were austere. He was abstemious in diet, chaste, an early riser, and industrious. He tells us, in a Latin poem, that the lyrist may indulge in wine and in a freer life; but that he, who would write an epic to the nations, must eat beans and drink water. Yet in his severity is no grimace or effort. He serves from love, not from fear. He is innocent and exact, because his taste was so pure and delicate. He acknowledges to his friend Diodati, at the age of twenty-one, that he is enamoured, if ever any was, of moral perfection. "For, whatever the Deity may have bestowed upon me in other respects, he has certainly inspired me, if any ever were inspired, with a passion for the good and fair. Nor did Ceres, according to the fable, ever seek her daughter Proserpine with such unceasing solicitude, as I have sought this *τοῦ καλοῦ ἰδέαν*, this perfect model of the beautiful in all forms and appearances of things."

When he was charged with loose habits of living, he declares, that "a certain niceness of nature, an honest haughtiness and self-esteem either of what I was or what I might be, and a modesty, kept me still above those low descents of mind, beneath which he must deject and plunge himself, that can agree" to such degradation.

"His mind gave him," he said, "that every free and gentle spirit, without that oath of chastity, ought to be born a knight; nor needed to expect the gilt spur, or the laying of a sword upon his shoulder, to stir him up, by his counsel and his arm, to secure and protect" attempted innocence.

He states these things, he says, "to show, that, though Christianity had been but slightly taught him, yet a certain reservedness of natural disposition and moral discipline, learned out of the noblest philosophy, was enough to keep him in disdain of far less incontinences than these," that had been charged on him. In like spirit, he replies to the suspicious calumny respecting his morning haunts. "Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up and stirring, in winter, often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labor or devotion; in summer, as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have its perfect fraught; then with useful and generous labors preserving the body's health and hardiness, to render lightsome, clear, and not lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion, and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations. These are the morning practices." This native honor never forsook him. It is the spirit of "Comus," the loftiest song in the praise of chastity, that is in any language. It always sparkles in his eyes. It breathed itself over his decent form. It refined his amusements, which consisted in gardening, in exercise with the sword, and in playing on the organ. It engaged his interest in chivalry, in courtesy, in whatsoever savoured of generosity and nobleness. This magnanimity shines in all his life. He accepts a high impulse at every risk, and deliberately undertakes the defence of the English people, when advised by his physicians that he does it at the cost of sight. There is a forbearance even in his polemics. He opens the war and strikes the first blow. When he had cut down his opponents, he left the details of death and plunder to meaner partisans. He said, "he had learned the prudence of the Roman soldier, not to stand breaking of legs, when the breath was quite out of the body."

To this antique heroism, Milton added the genius of the Christian sanctity. Few men could be cited who have so well understood what is peculiar in the Christian ethics, and the precise aid it has brought to men, in being an emphatic affirmation of the omnipotence of spiritual laws, and, by way of marking the contrast to vulgar opinions, laying its chief stress on humility. The indifferency of a wise mind to what is called high and low, and the fact that true greatness is a perfect humility, are revelations of Christianity which Milton well understood. They give an inexhaustible truth to all his compositions. His firm grasp of this truth is his weapon against the prelates. He celebrates in the martyrs, "the unresistible might of weakness." He told the bishops, "that, instead of showing the reason of their lowly condition from divine example and command, they seek to prove their high

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

preëminence from human consent and authority." He advises, that, in country places, rather than to trudge many miles to a church, public worship be maintained nearer home, as in a house or barn. "For, notwithstanding the gaudy superstition of some still devoted ignorantly to temples, we may be well assured, that he who disdained not to be born in a manger, disdains not to be preached in a barn." And the following passage, in the "Reason of Church Government," indicates his own perception of the doctrine of humility. "Albeit, I must confess to be half in doubt whether I should bring it forth or no, it being so contrary to the eye of the world, that I shall endanger either not to be regarded, or not to be understood. For, who is there, almost, that measures wisdom by simplicity, strength by suffering, dignity by lowliness?" Obeying this sentiment, Milton deserved the apostrophe of Wordsworth;

> "Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,
> So didst thou travel on life's common way
> In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
> The lowliest duties on itself did lay."

He laid on himself the lowliest duties. Johnson petulantly taunts Milton with "great promise and small performance," in returning from Italy because his country was in danger, and then opening a private school. Milton, wiser, felt no absurdity in this conduct. He returned into his revolutionized country, and assumed an honest and useful task, by which he might serve the state daily, whilst he launched from time to time his formidable bolts against the enemies of liberty. He felt the heats of that "love" which "esteems no office mean." He compiled a logic for boys; he wrote a grammar; and devoted much of his time to the preparing of a Latin dictionary. But the religious sentiment warmed his writings and conduct with the highest affection of faith. The memorable covenant, which in his youth, in the second book of the "Reason of Church Government," he makes with God and his reader, expressed the faith of his old age. For the first time since many ages, the invocations of the Eternal Spirit in the commencement of his books, are not poetic forms, but are thoughts, and so are still read with delight. His views of choice of profession, and choice in marriage, equally expect a divine leading.

Thus chosen, by the felicity of his nature and of his breed-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing, for the clear perception of all that is graceful and all that is great in man, Milton was not less happy in his times. His birth fell upon the agitated years, when the discontents of the English Puritans were fast drawing to a head against the tyranny of the Stuarts. No period has surpassed that in the general activity of mind. It is said, that no opinion, no civil, religious, moral dogma can be produced, that was not broached in the fertile brain of that age. Questions that involve all social and personal rights were hasting to be decided by the sword, and were searched by eyes to which the love of freedom, civil and religious, lent new illumination. Milton, gentle, learned, delicately bred in all the elegancy of art and learning, was set down in England in the stern, almost fanatic, society of the Puritans. The part he took, the zeal of his fellowship, make us acquainted with the greatness of his spirit, as in tranquil times we could not have known it. Susceptible as Burke to the attractions of historical prescription, of royalty, of chivalry, of an ancient church illustrated by old martyrdoms and installed in cathedrals, — he threw himself, the flower of elegancy, on the side of the reeking conventicle, the side of humanity, but unlearned and unadorned. His muse was brave and humane, as well as sweet. He felt the dear love of native land and native language. The humanity, which warms his pages, begins as it should at home. He preferred his own English, so manlike he was, to the Latin, which contained all the treasures of his memory. "My mother bore me," he said, "a speaker of what God made mine own, and not a translator." He told the Parliament, that "the imprimaturs of Lambeth House had been writ in Latin; for that our English, the language of men ever famous and foremost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily find servile letters enow to spell such a dictatory presumption." At one time, he meditated writing a poem on the settlement of Britain; and a history of England was one of the three main tasks which he proposed to himself. He proceeded in it no further than to the Conquest. He studied with care the character of his countrymen, and once in the "History," and once again in the "Reason of Church Government," he has recorded his judgment of the English genius.

Thus drawn into the great controversies of the times, in them he is never lost in a party. His private opinions and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

private conscience always distinguish him. That which drew him to the party was his love of liberty, ideal liberty; this therefore he could not sacrifice to any party. Toland tells us, "As he looked upon true and absolute freedom to be the greatest happiness of this life, whether to societies or single persons, so he thought constraint of any sort to be the utmost misery; for which reason he used to tell those about him the entire satisfaction of his mind, that he had constantly employed his strength and faculties in the defence of liberty, and in direct opposition to slavery." Truly he was an apostle of freedom; of freedom in the house, in the state, in the church; freedom of speech, freedom of the press, yet in his own mind discriminated from savage license, because that which he desired was the liberty of the wise man, containing itself in the limits of virtue. He pushed, as far as any in that democratic age, his ideas of *civil* liberty. He proposed to establish a republic, of which the federal power was weak and loosely defined, and the substantial power should remain with primary assemblies. He maintained, that a nation may try, judge, and slay their king, if he be a tyrant. He pushed as far his views of *ecclesiastical* liberty. He taught the doctrine of unlimited toleration. One of his tracts is writ to prove that no power on earth can compel in matters of religion. He maintained the doctrine of *literary* liberty, denouncing the censorship of the press, and insisting that a book shall come into the world as freely as a man, so only it bear the name of author or printer, and be responsible for itself like a man. He maintained the doctrine of *domestic* liberty, or the liberty of divorce, on the ground that unfit disposition of mind was a better reason for the act of divorce, than infirmity of body, which was good ground in law. The tracts he wrote on these topics are, for the most part, as fresh and pertinent to-day, as they were then. The events which produced them, the practical issues to which they tend, are mere occasions for this philanthropist to blow his trumpet for human rights. They are all varied applications of one principle, the liberty of the wise man. He sought absolute truth, not accommodating truth. His opinions on all subjects are formed for man as he ought to be, for a nation of Miltons. He would be divorced, when he finds in his consort unfit disposition; knowing that he should not abuse that liberty, because with his whole heart

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he abhors licentiousness and loves chastity. He defends the slaying of the king; because a king is a king no longer than he governs by the laws; "it would be right to kill Philip of Spain making an inroad into England, and what right the king of Spain hath to govern us at all, the same hath the king Charles to govern tyranically." He would remove hirelings out of the church, and support preachers by voluntary contributions; requiring, that such only should preach, as have faith enough to accept so self-denying and precarious a mode of life, scorning to take thought for the aspects of prudence and expediency. The most devout man of his time, he frequented no church; probably from a disgust at the fierce spirit of the pulpits. And so, throughout all his actions and opinions, is he a consistent spiritualist, or believer in the omnipotence of spiritual laws. He wished that his writings should be communicated only to those who desired to see them. He thought nothing honest was low. He thought he could be famous only in proportion as he enjoyed the approbation of the good. He admonished his friend "not to admire military prowess, or things in which force is of most avail. For it would not be matter of rational wonder, if the wethers of our country should be born with horns, that could batter down cities and towns. Learn to estimate great characters, not by the amount of animal strength, but by the habitual justice and temperance of their conduct."

Was there not a fitness in the undertaking of such a person, to write a poem on the subject of Adam, the first man? By his sympathy with all nature; by the proportion of his powers; by great knowledge, and by religion, he would reascend to the height from which our nature is supposed to have descended. From a just knowledge of what man should be, he described what he was. He beholds him as he walked in Eden:

> "His fair large front and eye sublime declared
> Absolute rule; and hyacinthine locks
> Round from his parted forelock manly hung
> Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad."

And the soul of this divine creature is excellent as his form. The tone of his thought and passion is as healthful, as even, and as vigorous, as befits the new and perfect model of a race of gods.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The perception we have attributed to Milton, of a purer ideal of humanity, modifies his poetic genius. The man is paramount to the poet. His fancy is never transcendant, extravagant; but, as Bacon's imagination was said to be "the noblest that ever contented itself to minister to the understanding," so Milton's ministers to character. Milton's sublimest song, bursting into heaven with its peals of melodious thunder, is the voice of Milton still. Indeed, throughout his poems, one may see under a thin veil, the opinions, the feelings, even the incidents of the poet's life, still reappearing. The sonnets are all occasional poems. "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" are but a finer autobiography of his youthful fancies at Harefield. The "Comus" is but a transcript, in charming numbers, of that philosophy of chastity, which, in the "Apology for Smectymnuus," and in the "Reason of Church Government," he declares to be his defence and religion. The "Samson Agonistes" is too broad an expression of his private griefs, to be mistaken, and is a version of the "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce." The most affecting passages in "Paradise Lost," are personal allusions; and, when we are fairly in Eden, Adam and Milton are often difficult to be separated. Again, in "Paradise Regained," we have the most distinct marks of the progress of the poet's mind, in the revision and enlargement of his religious opinions. This may be thought to abridge his praise as a poet. It is true of Homer and Shakspeare, that they do not appear in their poems; that those prodigious geniuses did cast themselves so totally into their song, that their individuality vanishes, and the poet towers to the sky, whilst the man quite disappears. The fact is memorable. Shall we say, that, in our admiration and joy in these wonderful poems, we have even a feeling of regret, that the men knew not what they did; that they were too passive in their great service; were channels through which streams of thought flowed from a higher source, which they did not appropriate, did not blend with their own being. Like prophets, they seem but imperfectly aware of the import of their own utterances. We hesitate to say such things, and say them only to the unpleasing dualism, when the man and the poet show like a double consciousness. Perhaps we speak to no fact, but to mere fables of an idle mendicant, Homer; and of a Shakspeare, content with a mean and jocular way of life. Be it how it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

may, the genius and office of Milton were different, namely, to ascend by the aids of his learning and his religion, — by an equal perception, that is, of the past and the future, — to a higher insight and more lively delineation of the heroic life of man. This was his poem; whereof all his indignant pamphlets, and all his soaring verses, are only single cantos or detached stanzas. It was plainly needful that his poetry should be a version of his own life, in order to give weight and solemnity to his thoughts; by which they might penetrate and possess the imagination and the will of mankind. The creations of Shakspeare are cast into the world of thought, to no farther end than to delight. Their intrinsic beauty is their excuse for being. Milton, fired "with dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of good things into others," tasked his giant imagination, and exhausted the stores of his intellect, for an end beyond, namely, to teach. His own conviction it is, which gives such authority to his strain. Its reality is its force. If out of the heart it came, to the heart it must go. What schools and epochs of common rhymers would it need to make a counterbalance to the severe oracles of his muse.

> "In them is plainest taught and easiest learnt,
> What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so."

The lover of Milton reads one sense in his prose and in his metrical compositions; and sometimes the muse soars highest in the former, because the thought is more sincere. Of his prose in general, not the style alone, but the argument also, is poetic; according to Lord Bacon's definition of poetry, following that of Aristotle, "Poetry, not finding the actual world exactly conformed to its idea of good and fair, seeks to accommodate the shows of things to the desires of the mind, and to create an ideal world better than the world of experience." Such certainly is the explanation of Milton's tracts. Such is the apology to be entered for the plea for freedom of divorce; an essay, which, from the first until now, has brought a degree of obloquy on his name. It was a sally of the extravagant spirit of the time, overjoyed, as in the French revolution, with the sudden victories it had gained, and eager to carry on the standard of truth to new heights. It is to be regarded as a poem on one of the griefs of man's condition, namely, unfit marriage. And as many poems have been written upon unfit society, commending

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

solitude, yet have not been proceeded against, though their end was hostile to the state; so should this receive that charity, which an angelic soul, suffering more keenly than others from the unavoidable evils of human life, is entitled to.

We have offered no apology for expanding to such length our commentary on the character of John Milton; who, in old age, in solitude, in neglect, and blind, wrote the Paradise Lost; a man whom labor or danger never deterred from whatever efforts a love of the supreme interests of man prompted. For are we not the better; are not all men fortified by the remembrance of the bravery, the purity, the temperance, the toil, the independence, and the angelic devotion of this man, who, in a revolutionary age, taking counsel only of himself, endeavoured, in his writings and in his life, to carry out the life of man to new heights of spiritual grace and dignity, without any abatement of its strength?

ART. III. — *Principles of Political Economy. Part the First. Of the Laws of the Production and Distribution of Wealth.* By HENRY C. CAREY, Author of an "Essay on the Rate of Wages." Philadelphia: Cary, Lea, and Blanchard. 1837. 8vo. pp. xvi. 342.

WHAT is political economy? It is now a late day to put this question, respecting a department of practice, in which men have been studying and acting from the formation of the primeval political community downwards; and a department of scientific speculation, on which a very considerable library of books has been written within the past century. And yet the question is not without its doubts and difficulties, as we readily find by opening the recent works, which differ widely in their definitions. In short, they are not agreed in what constitutes this science. We will therefore begin with a definition of our own, that may serve us in our remarks, if it has no other use.

Political economy, then, we understand to be the science, that treats of the general causes, instruments, principles, and phenomena of the production, the accumulation, the ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

change, and the consumption of marketable things; that is, things which bear a price, and are customarily bought, sold, exchanged, and transferred, or delivered. These are the subjects treated of in books of political economy; and the problem proposed is one of great intricacy, as well as of great importance, namely, to explain why it is, that one nation has a greater proportional amount of marketable, that is, valuable, things than another; or, in other words, is richer; and how it happens that one is growing richer, and another becoming poorer. For we would fain persuade ourselves, that we can, by the help of this science, observe the operations of the social throng, as we may those of a swarm of bees in a glass hive, and trace the connexion of the labors of each with the condition of all; and thus resolve the doubts that hang over the subject of national weal, and not only deduce the present condition of each community from its true causes, but clearly point out the courses that may lead to growth or decay. But the attempt to study the science with these views is at first disheartening; for we no sooner open a book upon the subject, than we find ourselves involved in disputes about its extent and appropriate topics; and then, as we proceed, we find ourselves perplexed with discussions concerning the meaning of words, or the investigations of metaphysical questions, sterile in results; and the great moving causes of national abundance and want still remain in obscurity. Perhaps the subject is too vast and complicated to be embraced by the human mind, and must remain in its rudiments to the end of time, a field for dogmatism and specious, inconsequential theories to the superficial, and for perplexity to the scientific; a cloudy element, in which objects do not appear in distinct outlines and true magnitudes, which is too thick and viscid to move in, and in which any attempt at progress proves to be only a stationary struggle. If we are ever to make any advance, the first step seems to be, a more successful classification and division of subjects, by which the looseness and obscurity of language in this department of philosophy may be, in some degree, remedied. We will glance at the leading divisions of the subject; mention some very important branches of the science, which seem to have been neglected; and point out what appear to us to be errors in the ordinary mode of treating it.

Every writer on economy is bound to give his readers an explanation of the word *value*; and, having explained it, to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

adhere rigidly to his explanation throughout his work, excepting in cases where he gives notice of his deviation from it, by some qualifying epithet or explanatory clause. This seems to be a very plain method of proceeding, and scarcely to need enforcement by reasons; and yet we shall find, that a departure from it is one great cause why the study of this science is so little satisfactory. The same writer will sometimes use this word as synonymous with *utility*, sometimes with *cost*, and sometimes with *price*; and it does in fact coincide with each of them in some respects, but it differs from each in others; and the use of it in its different senses, and the careless substitution of the others for it, and for each other, as synonymous, (for their signification is also quite diverse,) raise a mist in the writer's own mind most probably, and certainly in the reader's; and then follow criticisms and verbal hair-splitting. And thus the science of political economy dwindles into a miserable logomachy; and the reader, instead of making progress in the principles on which a nation is to be made great, and rich, and happy, finds himself involved in grammatical subtilties and verbal disquisitions, as if the matter in hand were what Johnson calls the harmless drudgery of making a dictionary, and not the analysis of the great moving causes whereby millions are brought into a state of well-being or ill-being. But, to return to our definition of *value*; its proper meaning, in a treatise on political economy, we understand to be, the exchangeable efficacy of a thing; that is, its efficacy in procuring other things by exchange in the market. This signification is plain, and the ordinary one in commerce; and, if it had been scrupulously adhered to, except when a departure from it was distinctly intimated, as by saying value *in money*, value *in wheat*, value *in labor*, or using some other additional epithet or phrase, political economy would ere this have been much better entitled to the rank of a science.

The next subject, or rather a part of the same, is an investigation of the causes of value, and of its enhancement and reduction, that is, its laws. And here we have a wide field for philosophical, speculative investigation, which must not be passed by, and which has interest, and may yield instruction, as long as it remains unexhausted; but our authors are wont to labor and dig in it long after it has become exhausted and yields no fruits. Here too we are presented with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a theory, perhaps two or three, but certainly one, to wit, — that value depends on labor, and that its degree is determined by the quantity and quality of labor; so that, if the author painfully labors his chapter, it follows demonstratively that it is proportionably valuable, and so, if he of the antagonist theory labors no less painfully his demolition of this same structure, his chapter of the ruins is equally valuable. This second does not, however, confine himself to demolition; he says, that value is compounded of rent and labor, as Smith asserts; or, as Say contends, the combined production of man coöperating with the agency of nature. Mr. Carey holds, again, that productive land itself is only consolidated labor, being, like all other value, a condensed extract from human mind and muscles; and therefore that rent is only the wages of the labor of some former year, or some former generation, and that effective fertility and habitability are created by industry, and may be analyzed into that primordial and all-forming element. And here the author, having achieved his chapter of construction and demolition of theories on this subject, not without much oracular truism, grave triviality, and no-meaningness, after the manner of Malthus, or metaphysics of the Rialto, after that of Ricardo, usually stops, by way of gratulation of himself, and congratulation with his reader, on the retrospect of his curious and admirable diorama of all the workshops and fields of this world, not forgetting to point out the ruins of that other very respectable author's theory.

Mr. Carey usually gives his reader a bird's-eye retrospect, from his balloon at the end of each stage, of the where and whither of the zigzags and dark passages of the route gone over from the starting-point, where was the man upon a solitary island plucking fruit, down to his present stopping-place. Thereupon the said reader, if he have a happy aptitude to astonishment, sees divers of the "laws of nature," as Mr. Carey calls his doctrines, as visible and distinct as the weights and wheels of the town clock in the church tower. He sees, deep down among the *arcana mundi*, not only that labor creates value, but that it alone creates value and measures it, the two being always in the same precise proportion. He begins to apply his new knowledge practically, and finds it work admirably. He finds out thereby, that men by working build houses, and grow corn, and dig iron ore, and make it into iron, and again this iron into steel; and that even his

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

goosequill, to write with, is only attainable by the labor of plucking it, at least, if not that of feeding the goose besides; and that, if he works at a given rate, he will bring more to pass in one hundred days than he can in fifty, — a very useful piece of practical knowledge. And here he stops, perhaps, if he is a reader of easy faith, and prompt to be satisfied with knowledge. But, if he is one of the *nil admirari* school, who looks into things without being wonder-struck with specious appearances, and is given to mathematical tests and practical applications, he readily finds, that any two equally good laborers do not, in the same fifty days, produce the same marketable value; nor the same laborer in any two successive periods of that length; and is apt to conclude, that, though this theory of value may be a bright constellation in the heaven of invention of a transcendental political economist, it is, after all, of no great actual utility in navigation; for its stars dance about in such a maze, and their light is so refracted and warped and criss-crossed by the media through which it comes to him in his sublunary world of affairs, that he cannot, by taking the most careful observation, find out where his ship is, or what land it is like to make.

And why, in this stage of the author's inquiry, all this profound diving below the bottom into the mud? or soaring with theoretical sublimity, out of sight, among the clouds? We have no quarry in the air, or pearl oyster in the depths, to consolidate our labor in by making it ours; but we are as yet merely making our preparations at our leisure, choosing our tackle and adjusting our furniture, which is ready supplied to hand. The whole business of the economist is so far merely making an extract from the dictionary, and noting the obvious results of the comparison of any two prices current.

Value, then, being defined to be exchangeableness, how does it happen that a thing is exchangeable? How, but because it is transferable, and somebody, incited by necessity, fancy, or whim, wants it? And he will pay us for it in proportion to the vehemence of his desire, unless he can get it of some one else at a certain rate, or produce it for himself at less sacrifice, by the time he wants it; either of which, if he can do, he is sure not to give any more for it than he can otherwise purchase or can produce it for, unless he is such an outrageous theoretical economist, that he will give us twice as much, merely because it has cost us twice as much labor or sacri-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fice of one kind or another, and he considers the value to consist in the cost. Now this is all so very plain, that no one would think of uttering such truisms, unless he had the apology, that it was merely preliminary, a sort of premises to sequents that may be worth expressing; and, therefore, like axioms in geometry, the obviousness of which is their essential recommendation. Now these intuitive aphorisms are economical sublimities to small minds; and, by the frigid enthusiasm of such, have been puffed out into so great an opaque magnitude, with a hazy *penumbra* of theories, and verbal, dialectic, and grammatical subtilties, as to overshadow and quite eclipse this delectable science of political economy, insomuch that its "gladsome light" is more dismal, than that of jurisprudence as beheld in Coke's Institutes.

Value having been thus defined, and the reason given why people exchange what they have for what they want, if they can find it; and upon what terms, and to what extent they will go; and all this in few words, and without gratulation or congratulation, as if the riddle of the Sphinx had been solved; the inquirer then comes to the examination of the phenomena of the markets; the phases, the waxings and wanings of the price current, from its bright rotundity at the full, — in the brilliant sunshine of prosperity, and heyday of sanguineness and speculation, — to the opposite extreme of obscuration of its entire disk, darkened by the shadow of its own immense bulk, at the gloomy time of glut, plethora, and dead stagnation, typified by zero in the price current. Here, then, the more serious business begins of developing scientific doctrines, bearing more immediately upon legislation and affairs, but yet not very intimately, the subjects being still of a somewhat introductory character, and the doctrines following mostly as corollaries from, or being illustrations of, the explanations already given of the causes of the origin of value or exchangeableness, and the general limits of the operation of those causes. Thus we have said, that value originates in the desire that others have to obtain the exchangeable article, and is limited by the intensity of that desire; for a man will not so vehemently want a toothpick, or walking-stick, as to give a good farm in exchange, though he cannot obtain it on any better terms. But when we come to more pressing wants, the value will be without any other limit than the means to buy; as we see in times of scarcity, when hungry

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Esau sells his right of primogeniture for a supper, which he will have at any rate; the only question being, at what most favorable rate it can be had, and, if Jacob be the only vendor in the market, his terms must be complied with, whatever they may be. But, if Jacob is only one of a throng of competitors offering the same article, the tables are turned, and Esau does not bargain until he has ascertained the lowest terms upon which either will part with his pottage, rather than take the chance of its spoiling on his hands. Thus any perishable articles, such as many edible ones are, fluctuate more suddenly, and to wider extremes, than those which are less perishable; the vendors of the latter, if they cannot make satisfactory terms, being willing to take the chance of keeping them on hand, a month or a year longer; and this the more readily, if confidence is strong, and credit easy, and enterprise rife, and each man in the community has the command, to a greater or less degree, of the money, goods, capital, in short, of the others. For, though indebtedness reciprocally accumulates and augments all around, and a network of obligations, to and from, involves the whole community, and the circumstances of each one are implicated in the success and honesty, and misfortunes and frauds, of some twenty or a hundred, or five hundred others, still each is easy and sanguine, and confident that he can disengage himself from the meshes if he chooses; since, as demand is quick and steady, he can at any time, at a small sacrifice at least in his sales, dispose of his stock, collect his debts, and wind up his affairs with a fortune, or at least a competence. And, having this resort at the worst, he is disposed to hold on for the best, and stand out for a high profit, until, by and by, a crash happens here and another there, and the network begins to tremble, and he begins to pull upon the strings, the ends of which he holds in his own hands; and they break, one after another; and he begins at the same time to feel himself drawn, more and more strongly, by those in the hands of others; and he attempts to loose them, but the knots will not yield, for they are fastened by a lock that is governed only by a golden key, which is not to be found; and he puts his goods and lands into the auctioneer's crucible, for the wherewithal to fashion another, the same proceeding being resorted to by B, C, D, &c., to the end of the alphabet. The press to sell reduces

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prices, that is, value in money; not *value* in other commodities, perhaps, (or even in labor, for that sinks in price, with or soon after the fall of its products,) since they may all fall in proportion. This is a variation of the general mass of vendible things, of which the price current, or money price, having risen to a certain point, then descends, the market having its cycles of five or seven years perpetually recurring; and the causes of the variation are so multiform and occult, and so intertwined with the pursuits and enterprises and resources of people at a great distance from each other, and occupying different quarters of the globe; and the markets are so influenced by the wars and legislation and progress of the arts and industry of the home country and foreign countries, and so acted upon by financial operations; that the vicissitudes and fluxes and refluxes of the price current, in the progress of this everlasting series of revolutions, are more perplexing and inscrutable than the motions of the celestial bodies; for these can be computed, demonstrated, and predicted; whereas, the most that science or old experience can do in regard to these commercial phenomena, is, to prognosticate as sailors do of the weather.

This great current and sort of Gulf Stream of the markets is irregularly disturbed by eddies and cross-currents and counter-currents in the market value of particular articles, owing to local and temporary causes of greater or less extent and duration; as a scarcity or abundance, occasioned by the increase or diminution of the demand and consumption of the particular article throughout the commercial world; or the extension of the demand to new regions; or the increase or diminution of the production, in consequence of the fruitfulness or unfruitfulness of the seasons, in some particular thing; or the interruption of the communication for its distribution to particular places; or the diversion of labor to or from some species of production; or the improvements and inventions that facilitate one or another branch of industry. And it so happens, that, while the general market value is rising, that of particular species of articles will be falling in money value; which is a diminution, in this case, of their actual value, that is, their effective exchangeableness. Mere changes in fashions and habits have often a great agency in these local, temporary, and particular fluctuations of the price current.

Such are the general causes, which give rise to and influ-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ence value and its changes, the consideration and right understanding of which are quite essential in the subsequent inquiries in this science. It is not, however, a part of the subject, which seems to present any great difficulty of analysis. The principal task of the writer is, a perspicuous statement and skilful presentation of all the topics in a connected view, assigning a just proportional importance to them. It is, in general, merely the exhibition of what will be obvious to the intelligent reader on a mere statement, without proof or argument. But the misfortune is, that the teacher of economy brings into this part of his treatise some theory of value in utility, value in exchange, value in labor or wheat, real value as distinguished from that of the market, the substitution of cost for value, or, what is most disastrous, he enters the South American mines without Ariadne's clue, and there loses himself and his followers.

In connexion with value is considered money value or price, which we have touched upon already, in speaking of the general fluxes and refluxes of the markets of the whole commercial world. And here an inquiry is started, which has puzzled writers and readers much, and as yet profited them little, namely, why, independently of temporary fluctuations, the general standard money prices of labor and its products should differ so much in successive distant periods, and also contemporaneously in different places. Why is it, that in Poland a man works a day with his team for a shilling, and without his team for fourpence, while in England he is paid two shillings, and in the United States four shillings, and in Egypt a penny? and why, in England, in 1495, was he paid three-pence halfpenny, and in 1832 two shillings? This has hitherto been an inquiry rather curious, than satisfactory or useful. Some of the economists have, as usual, cut the knot by a theory, which supposes, that the aggregate amount of circulating medium will always bear a given ratio to the aggregate sales, or money value of vendible commodities; and so, plenty of circulating medium makes the high prices, and scarcity the low prices, and thus the whole thing is as plain as two and two for four; and then we have a good deal of statistics of the gold and silver mines. But no materials can be dug up from the mines, of which to construct this hypothesis, which is dubious and misty, unprovable and unprofitable; and all the inferences and arguments deduced

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from it rest upon the unsubstantial basis of mere gratuitous supposition.

Mr. Carey has a chapter on *value*, and after it one on Malthus, M'Culloch, Senior, and others, on *value;* then, in the end of his book, a critical dissertation upon the same subject, in which, among other matter, the question is gravely discussed,* whether Mr. Mill is right in his position, that, "if the wine which is put in the cellar is increased in value one tenth by being kept a year, one tenth more of labor may be correctly considered as having been expended upon it." Mr. Carey says, No. Such are the weighty problems solved by the economical calculus. In the chapter directly upon value, Mr. Carey, as we have seen, maintains, that labor is the sole cause of value, and considers himself as having established twelve conclusions in precisely that number of pages; and among the rest, that the value of an article cannot exceed that of "the labor required to reproduce it," a proposition not precisely true of the value of hay or corn in the spring time after a scarce year. The true proposition seems to be, that, if one can get a thing produced or made, by the time he wants it, for a shilling, he will not give two shillings for it; but, if he cannot so procure it in time, if he wants it very much he will give the two shillings, if necessary. We cannot say, that Mr. Carey gives a very lucid view of value and its phenomena.

The market having been perambulated, and the notions of value, price, and their phenomena having been settled, we come in sight of the long array of the agents and instruments and materials of production, men, beasts, lands, ploughs, ships, machines, stock, capital. Most of these are themselves vendibles; and, of the others, the use, services, or products are the subjects of agreements and appreciation. The two greatest, man and land, are each in some places vendible and in others not so, men being bought and sold in slave countries, and lands not being vendible in Egypt and some Asiatic countries, the government being the universal proprietor. Rent and wages are two leading subjects in this part of the inquiry, in regard to both of which the economists supply us with abundance of theories.

And first, of land, the value of which Mr. Carey considers to be created by labor; for he estimates that felling the forests, making the highways, bridges, fences, hedges, &c.,

* Page 277. † Page 19.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

amount to more than the land is worth; and that all communities make their land, as much as did the people of Malta who imported their soil from abroad. This is a part of the author's general theory, that labor is the cause of, and constitutes and measures, all value, — a theory as sterile as most others in this theory-ridden science; for what matters it, practically, except to a settler on new lands, whether the value of a piece of the Campagna originated in the labor of making the Appian Way, or in the creation of land itself by the Creator? Here the land is an instrument of production, of a certain value in the land market, and yielding a certain rent, and paying a certain tax. Whether its value has been dug up from the earth, or rained down from the sky, provided it is there, seems to us, we confess, to be of small import; it certainly cannot be made to bear very directly in the elucidation of the national condition, if true. For if true, it is too occult and remote a truth to be of practical application, except in the case of a first settler, and hardly in that case; since, by this very theory, the great city of Granada "aided in giving value to all the land" in Spain; and the making of the Erie Canal, and construction of wharves and a breakwater at Buffalo, give an original value, or an additional value, to the lands in Michigan and Illinois. And so do many circumstances give value to distant territory; the force and applicability of all which are not available in estimating the price of a given piece of wild land, which the purchaser computes, as the purchasers of other lands, by an estimate of the expense of labor, and amount of crops and of taxes; and we do not see any evidence of their being more liable to mistake in their computation than purchasers of other lands. The French population of Canada have acted on Mr. Carey's theory of concentration, and stuck to their original settlements on the banks of the rivers; but the result does not corroborate his theory. It may be said, that this is imputable to other circumstances, such as the character of the people, climate, government, arts, commerce, &c. Let one attempt to make an estimate of what would have been the arts, commerce, character of the population, &c., of the United States, had the inhabitants eschewed the forests. If he could make a satisfactory estimate of this description, that would be something whereon to stand in the argument; but, as this could not be done, and it would only be all conjecture, in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

support of a proposition that is mere theory, we cannot but think that this region is a part of the territory of the science of political economy, which ranks too low in the scale of fertility to yield rent.

This theory is arrayed against that of "Malthus, M'Culloch, Senior, and others," who celebrate the mysteries of soil number one, two, &c., instituted by Mr. Malthus in honor of Sleep,—but, "in that sleep, what dreams may come, puzzles the will," as to going on, as it tends to night-mare; for who, of mortal men, can read the soil series, any more than the geometrical and arithmetical population and food series of Mr. Malthus, *bonâ fide*, patiently, and with an honest and unflinching resolution to be edified and made strong in faith, and not thereby incur night-mare? If, therefore, one theory can be used to batter down the other, and finally both be blown up together, and converted into ruins, and rubbish, and interesting monuments, it is a consummation devoutly to be wished, by this hasty and impatient generation, which has not the leisure and fortitude to go through with wide spaces of diagrams, and long lines of arithmetic, and heap ponderous matters of fact, pile upon pile,—Pelion upon Ossa,—sky-high, to arrive at a sublime demonstration of the reasons of rent, which appears plainer at the outset, and without any metaphysics, than after making a mystery, and trying to solve or dissolve it. Improvements in transportation, in machinery, in agriculture, and all the useful arts and species of industry, and the effect of those improvements upon the national well-being, the condition of the laborers, and the value of given masses of capital, are interesting and useful inquiries; and these Mr. Carey touches upon, though not distinctly, so as to give the reader his whole view at one time upon one point. But all this, instead of being furthered by any theory about soil, of fertility number one, two, &c., or about land being labor, is only thereby embarrassed. It is time, in short, that plain common sense, expressed in plain common language, should be brought into that part of political economy, which is as obvious, at least, to any common farmer or mechanic, as to the most transcendental Scotch economist; indeed, much more obvious.

Mr. Carey mixes the subject of wages of common labor with this inquiry as to the origin and laws of the value of land, this subject having been connected with the said theory of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Malthus touching the scale of fertility. And here Mr. Carey combats, with success, the notion supported by Malthus, *et hoc genus omne*, that, "as population increases, there arises a necessity for extending cultivation over land yielding a diminished return, attended with a constant diminution in the wages of labor and the profits of capital." Mr. Carey, as usual, does not take hold of this theory and dispose of it in its place or out of its place, at once, but scatters it here and there in his volume. His theory is in favor of concentration, "and dispersion is," he says, "the evil to be guarded against." This is, however, as much a theory as the other, and so Mr. Carey denominates it, and Ireland, at least, is an example against it. This might be expected; for it is a tremendous leap from Mr. Malthus's theory of a universal excess of population, clean across the circumference of political economy, to this opposite one of Mr. Carey, that there cannot be such an excess in any country. What is the utility of framing theories, which are true and false according to the circumstances? Concentration is best when it is favored by the laws, habits of the population, improved arts, and a general developement of physical and intellectual faculties and resources; otherwise it may be an evil. It does generally happen, that the greatest concentration of population takes place under the circumstances, which render this very augmentation a benefit, coöperating with a thousand other concurring causes to carry a nation forward. And thence, as might be expected, the statistical annals show, that usually in the same country, and with the same people, the condition of the laboring and other classes is the best, at the time when they most rapidly increase, and approach to the acme of numbers. So that Mr. Carey easily confutes Malthus out of the statistical records of Mr. Eden, and so far his argument is consolatory and cheering; but, being under the spell, and subject to the destiny, of this political economy, he must needs go directly into the opposite theory himself. The doctrine of perfectibility, that blazed out, with other meteors, at the time of the French revolution, insisted, that there was no limit to the possible, and practicable, and probable progress of society and the arts; and this is a much more grateful doctrine than the contrary one, that little or no progress has been made, or is possible; that we are, at the best, only capable of change, and a revolution about a circle. But, without professing perfectibility, every

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one may say, that, as far as industry, arts, laws, and improvement of facilities and resources can keep pace with the augmentation of numbers, such augmentation is desirable, and we may well believe that they may be carried further than they yet have been. Whether the distance before us, therefore, is limited or infinite, the practical result is the same for the present; and, as long as we can see before us room for advancement, the practical inquiry for the legislator and philanthropist is, What circumstances promote the increase of population, and what are favorable and salutary causes of such increase; and to what extent, or upon what conditions, is such augmentation desirable?

Mr. Malthus answers, that it is so to the extent of the means of subsistence. And this is a very true, and at the same time not a very bold answer; for we already supposed, that the population could not subsist without food. The most material question is, What general causes will augment the provisions? Mr. Malthus has no reply but to subdue the ungrateful number ten, which he represents to be little better than starvation. He is the very Heraclitus of political economy. Mr. Carey adopts the more cheerful, and at present prevailing view, that, when we are reduced to hoe corn upon number ten, we work to better purpose, and are better fed and clad, than at Mr. Malthus's blessed number one, or any intermediate number.

Having disposed of lands, houses, rents, and all the phenomena of rude and high cultivation, roads, canals, and other avenues to a market, as affecting the economical condition of the community, we next, in convenient order of distribution, come to other species of capital, for land is one species. And we do not see the occasion of all the difficulty in defining *capital*; for what does it mean but those transferable, deliverable things, which bear a market price? A slave is capital, as he is transferable and deliverable; but the capacity of a freeman to earn wages, though as good as capital, since it affords income, is not capital; for, though he can agree to use this faculty for another, this is an *agreement*, but not the transfer or delivery of a thing. Wages are somewhat in the nature of rent and interest, being, like those, income. And here again we have a theory; some of the economists maintaining, that accumulation is advantageous, to an indefinite, or, if you please, an infinite

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extent. But, as this doctrine cannot be practically applied or tested, it is, like most of the theories in this science, a hinderance, rather than a help, to knowledge. It will be apparent, at first sight, that a large amount of the capital of some countries such as jewelry, pictures, and statues, does not bear directly on industry and production. Still they may, in case of need, be sent abroad, as the jewelry of the South American countries at the commencement of their revolution, to buy ships and other things necessary in war or industry. The species of capital, — what it consists in, — is quite a material consideration in the investigation of the national condition. Are the buildings, for instance, frail, and liable to be blown down in storms, or durable? Are the machines, and instruments of industry of all descriptions, clumsy or well constructed? Interesting investigations lie under these inquiries, which the economists have neglected. Again, not only the quantity and kinds of capital, but its distribution, whether in large masses or small subdivisions, has a material bearing upon the national condition. It has been remarked, by Mr. Webster, on some occasion, that the new law of descent of property in France, substituting an equal division in place of the old law of primogeniture, was sufficient of itself to work out a revolution in the entire social and economical condition and mutual relations of the inhabitants.

Connected with this subject is another of no less interest, namely; Whether the capital, the pursuits, and condition of a country are such, that its industry and productive capabilities are liable to sudden reverses. It is a well-known principle in regard to the laws, that their steadiness, and the uniformity and integrity of their administration, are essential to the well-being of a people, and the steadiness of the national industry and productiveness is no less essential. Now most of these questions, and many others, no less decisive of the general condition, make no figure in books of political economy, and hardly appear there at all, but give place to the fine-spun theories and verbal distinctions, of which we have spoken.

But the most elevated part of this science, and the most neglected, is that relating to the character and habits of the population of a country, and its political and social institutions, and literature, considered in all their phases, as bearing upon their economical condition. Everybody, economist or not, must perceive, that these are the living, animating

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

principles, that generally determine the destiny of a people in matters of productiveness and wealth; and yet they have hitherto scarcely made their appearance in works of political economy. These topics do not come at all within the thirty-seven "laws of nature" which Mr. Carey deems himself to have established in this, his First Part; and we do not see any particular provision for their introduction on "a future occasion," in the hints given by him of the subjects of his subsequent part or parts. There are not wanting signs, from various quarters, that the higher subjects of the science will, ere long, find a place in the works that treat of it. But shall we, it has sometimes been asked, have discussions on ethics, the fine arts, and government, in a work on political economy? Undoubtedly we shall. We have discussions now on agriculture, capital, trade, navigation, and banking; not precisely such as agriculturists, traders, navigators, and bankers would give on their respective pursuits, but such as show, or are intended to show, the general circumstances in these several subjects, by which the national growth in wealth is checked and promoted.

It is plain, that the productive faculties are no less affected by the religion, the morals, the social distinctions, the political, and the juridical administration; why not then consider them? not analytically and elaborately, as in works devoted especially to them, but in those aspects in which they have an economical influence.

We have long chapters on what Smith denominates *division of labor*, by which he means separation or distribution of employments; and this thing is exaggerated into an immense magnitude, as if it were the quiet, occult power, that bears civilized society forward to its stupendous achievements in industry. These extravagant notions are going out of date; but the exaggeration upon this topic, as upon many others, which properly belong to the science, serves but to distort it, and to convert a truth into a practical error; for it is as important a mistake to assign to a given cause fifty times its true effects, as to attribute a part of those effects to a cause with which they have no connexion. It overlays the subject with a dead weight, and gratuitously; since nothing is to be done in the matter by legislation or otherwise, however the fact may be; for this distribution can be carried only to the extent of the limits assigned by density of population, facility

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of communication, accumulation of capital in masses, and the formation of extensive systems of production. The practicability of the distribution is incident to certain combinations of circumstances, and will be governed by those; and those combinations grow out of other causes, which the economist should seek out, and explain, and show the distinction and multiplication of pursuits as being attendant upon them.

This subject of division of labor would thus shrink into its proper dimensions, and give place for other topics, hitherto slightly mentioned, or wholly omitted. For example, the inventive faculty is far more active in one nation than another, and yet we find it mentioned by the economists only very superficially, and by many of them not at all. The mere prejudices, and habits of thinking, of a people, as to useful pursuits, have a more decisive influence upon productive capabilities, than all the causes mentioned by most of the economists put together. Witness the old prejudices of the French in regard to the degradation of the mercantile profession, and the analogous prejudices of the people of Hindostan in regard to certain trades. A cause that operates so strongly ought to occupy the attention of the expounders of national prosperity and decline; yet we scarcely meet with it in their works. They discourse of the division of labor, the geometrical series, and what not, in preference.

The legislation of a country has an irresistible influence upon the productive energies; and what do we find in the works of the economical doctors respecting it? Why, we find those of one side saying, *Laissez nous faire*, "Let us alone, — pass no law whatever, with the express purpose of furthering production, whether by bounties and rewards, taxes, or otherwise;" and those on the other, saying, that you must fill the statute-book with laws and regulations of this description; and those of each side are equally sweeping, dogmatical, and absolute in their assertions and denials. These occupy the two extremes of the scale, one the boiling point of prohibition, the other the zero of free trade. Can any reflecting man imagine, that science consists in these extravagances? Is it not evident to every man, that a vast proportion of the legislation and administration of the laws, and the police regulations, have a prodigious effect, direct and indirect, upon productive activity, though no professed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

regard is had to it? Is it not admitted, also, that this bearing is always especially considered in selecting the subjects and mode of taxation, though the object be merely to raise revenue? This supposes, that something can be known and understood of the effects of laws in this respect; and this is, in reality, assuming, that the subject may be reduced to scientific analysis and deduction, and that many questions can be settled and put to rest, and many rules clearly established. Upon this subject we shall find the British economists most meagre and unsatisfactory. Only the newest and greenest legislators think of looking into their works for principles. The invocation of their authority excites the smile of men experienced in affairs.

Education is the nursery of national greatness and littleness, in wealth, as well as in other things. It is touched upon by Smith, in treating of regular apprenticeships; but nowhere presented in its full proportions, by him or any other writer on economy.

Such are the general topics belonging to this subject, and such the deficiencies, as it seems to us, in the writers upon it. But we do not despair of seeing it raised from its degradation, and made more worthy to rank as a science.

ART. IV.—1. *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language, containing the Accentuation; the Grammatical Inflections; the Irregular Words referred to their Themes; the Parallel Terms from the other Gothic Languages; the Meaning of the Anglo-Saxon in English and Latin; and copious English and Latin Indexes, serving as a Dictionary of English and Anglo-Saxon, as well as of Latin and Anglo-Saxon. With a Preface on the Germanic Tongues; a Map of Languages, and the Essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar.* By the Rev. J. BOSWORTH. London: 1837. 8vo. pp. 868.

2. *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boëthius, "De Consolatione Philosophiæ"; with an English Translation, and Notes.* By J. S. CARDALE. London: 1829. 8vo. pp. 425.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

3. *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica. A Selection, in Prose and Verse, from Anglo-Saxon Authors of various Ages, with a Glossary. Designed chiefly as a First Book for Students.* By BENJAMIN THORPE. London: 1834. 8vo. pp. 268.
4. *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.* By JOHN JOSIAS CONYBEARE. London: 1826. 8vo. pp. 286.
5. *The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, the Traveller's Song, and the Battle of Finnesburgh, edited, together with a Glossary of the more Difficult Words, and an Historical Preface,* by JOHN M. KEMBLE, Esq., M. A. London: 1833. 12mo. pp. 260.

WE read in history, that it was the beauty of an ancient manuscript, which tempted King Alfred, when a boy at his mother's knee, to learn the letters of the Saxon tongue. A volume, which that monarch minstrel wrote in after years, now lies before us, so beautifully printed, that it might tempt any one to learn not only the letters of the Saxon language, but the language also. The monarch himself is looking from the ornamented initial letter of the first chapter. He is crowned and care-worn; having a beard, and long, flowing locks, and a face of majesty. He seems to have just uttered those remarkable words, with which his Preface closes; "And now he prays, and for God's name implores, every one of those whom it lists to read this book, that he would pray for him, and not blame him, if he more rightly understand it than he could; for every man must, according to the measure of his understanding, and according to his leisure, speak that which he speaks, and do that which he does."

We would fain hope, that the beauty of this and other Anglo-Saxon books may lead many to the study of that excellent language. Through such gate-ways will they pass, it is true, into no gay palace of song; but among the dark chambers and mouldering walls of an old national literature, all weather-stained and in ruins. They will find, however, venerable names recorded on those walls; and inscriptions, worth the trouble of decyphering. To point out the most curious and important of these, is our present purpose; and according to the measure of our understanding, and according to our leisure, we speak that which we speak.

If any of our readers are predestined to study the Anglo-Saxon tongue, they may thank their stars that they have been

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

born thus late in the world. They will find their appointed task much easier now, than it would have been some three centuries ago, when Ælfric's *Homily on the Paschal Lamb*, was, for the first time, "imprinted at London, by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneath St. Martyns"; or even two centuries ago, when the same book was reprinted "by John Haviland, for Henrie Seile, dwelling in Paul's Churchyard, at the signe of the Tyger's head." Since those days the publication of Anglo-Saxon books has been constantly increasing; and, without any disparagement to Junius, Hickes, Somner, Lye, Wilkins, and other early Saxonists, we can truly say, that more has been done by Bosworth, Cardale, Kemble, Thorpe, and others within the present century, nay, within the last fifteen years, to excite an interest in the Anglo-Saxon language and literature, and to facilitate their study, than had been before accomplished in all the many years which have elapsed since the days of John Day. We are far, however, from maintaining, that this would or could have been the case without the previous labors, the incessant toil, — yes, we may well say, incessant toil, when we look at their huge folios! — of those most diligent and worthy scholars.* Long may the good they have done live after them; their errors only be interred with their bones. We bear in grateful memory their labors for the restoration of the Saxon speech; the study of which is profitable for doctrine and for reproof to those, who, having travelled in France and Italy, "lisp, and wear strange suits, and disable all the benefits of their native tongue."

At the head of this article, we have placed the titles of those works, which we deem most necessary for a student of the Anglo-Saxon. The publication of Dr. Bosworth's *Dictionary* is likely to form an era in this study. In all dictionaries hitherto, Latin has been used to interpret Anglo-Saxon; these works being intended for continental scholars also, and not for English alone. Doubtless, too, there was a little scholastic pride at the bottom of this. But, at length, we have the long-desired labor, well accomplished, — an Anglo-Saxon and English Dictionary; a book which, we venture to say, will do more to advance the study of the Anglo-Saxon language, and, consequently, the full and per-

* For a chronological list of the chief works printed in Anglo-Saxon with a notice of Grammars and Dictionaries, see Bosworth's *Dictionary*, Preface, p. xviii.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fect understanding of our own, than any work which has yet appeared. A most laborious task! A volume, upon which we lay our hands with great respect; for it contains more than seven years of a scholar's life, dissolved, sublimated, over a slow fire, into words; or, as Baro Ubigerus, that servant of God in the kingdom of nature, would say, "driven nine or ten times through the combustible fire into the elementary air." The title-page of the work, which we have copied out fully, sufficiently explains the plan followed by the author, in this noble contribution to the history of his native tongue. The long Preface gives a sketch of all the Teutonic and Scandinavian languages, with abundant illustrations. It is full of very valuable learning; and shows great diligence, and patient, long research. The "Essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar," and the abstract of Rask and Grimm, afford the student all the knowledge of forms and inflections, which he will need at the outset. For more thorough study of grammar, he may be referred to a former work of Dr. Bosworth, and to Thorpe's translation of Rask. *

Much praise is due, likewise, to the other Anglo-Saxon scholars, whose works we have cited above. We shall have occasion to refer to them frequently, in the course of this article; and always, with just praise. Our object, however, is not to review their books, properly speaking; but to make the best use of them we can, in drawing up a sketch of Anglo-Saxon literature. The best service we can render these scholars is, to show the Anglo-Saxon student on this side of the Atlantic, how much he stands in need of their works.

The Anglo-Saxon language was the language of our Saxon forefathers in England, though they never gave it that name. They called it English. Thus King Alfred speaks of translating "from book-latin into English" (*of bec Ledene on Englisc*;) Abbot Ælfric was requested by Æthelward "to translate the book of Genesis from Latin into English" (*anwendan of Ledene on Englisc tha boc Genesis*); and Bishop Leofric, speaking of the manuscript he gave to the Exeter Cathedral, calls it, "a great English book" (*mycel Englisc boc.*) In other words, it is the old Saxon, a Gothic tongue, as spoken and developed in England. That it was spoken and written

* *The Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, with copious Notes, &c.; and a Grammatical Praxis. By the Rev. J. Bosworth. London. 1823. 8vo.
A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, with a Praxis. By Erasmus Rask. Translated from the Danish, by B. Thorpe. Copenhagen. 1830. 8vo.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uniformly throughout the land, is not to be imagined, when we know that Jutes and Angles were in the country as well as Saxons. But that it was essentially the same language everywhere is not to be doubted, when we compare pure West Saxon texts with Northumbrian Glosses and Books of Durham. In Hickes's *Dano-Saxon Period* we have no faith whatever, nor do we think any scholar has, at the present day. The Saxon kings reigned six hundred years; the Danish dynasty, twenty only. And we have not imagination enough to believe, that either the Danish boors, who were earthlings (*yrthlingas*) in the country, or the Danish soldiers, who, as history tells us, were dandies at the court of King Canute, could, in the brief space of twenty years, have so overlaid or interlarded the pure Anglo-Saxon with their provincialisms, as to give it a new character, and thus form a new *period* in its history, as was afterwards done by the Normans.

The truth is, the Dano-Saxon is a dialect of the language, not a period which was passed through in its history. We can lean upon old manuscripts and argue the point for hours together; but not at present. It will be sufficient to say, that, down to the time of the Norman Conquest, the language existed in the form of two principal dialects; namely, the Anglo-Saxon in the South; and the Dano-Saxon, or Northumbrian, in the North. After the Norman Conquest, the language assumed a new form, which has been called, properly enough, Norman-Saxon and Semi-Saxon.

This form of the language, ever flowing and filtering through the roots of national feeling, custom, and prejudice, prevailed about two hundred years; that is, from the middle of the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century; when the people woke up one morning and found themselves speaking English, as the word English is now understood. We may as well speak thus lightly, as more seriously. It is impossible to fix the landmarks of a language with any great precision; but only floating beacons, here and there. Perhaps, however, it may be well, while upon this subject, to say more than we have yet said. We therefore subjoin, in a note, a very lucid and brief account of the language; perhaps the clearest and briefest that can be given. It is by Mr. Cardale. *

* "Note on the Saxon Dialects.

"Hickes, in c. 19. of the Anglo-Saxon Grammar in his *Thesaurus*, states, that there are three dialects of the Saxon language, distinguishable from

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is oftentimes curious to consider the far-off beginnings of great events, and to study the aspect of the cloud no bigger than one's hand. The British peasant looked seaward from his harvest-field, and saw, with wondering eyes, the piratical schooner of a Saxon Viking, making for the mouth of the Thames. A few years, — only a few years, — afterward, while the same peasant, driven from his homestead north or west, still lives to tell the story to his grandchildren, another race lords it over the land, speaking a different language and living under different laws. This important event in his history is more important in the world's history. Thus began the reign of the Saxons in England; and the downfall of one nation, and the rise of another, seem to us at this distance only the catastrophe of a stage-play.

The Saxons came into England about the middle of the fifth century. They were pagans; they were a wild and warlike people; brave, rejoicing in sea-storms, and beautiful in person, with blue eyes and long, flowing hair. Their warriors wore their shields suspended from their necks by

---

the pure and regular language of which he has already treated, namely, that found in the authors who flourished in the southern and western parts of Britain. These dialects he arranges, according to certain periods of history, as follows; 1. The *Britanno-Saxon*, which, he says, was spoken by our ancestors, from their original invasion of Britain till the entrance of the Danes, being about 337 years. — 2. The *Dano-Saxon*, which, he says, was used from the entrance of the Danes till the Norman invasion, being 274 years, and more especially in the northern parts of England and the south of Scotland. — 3. The *Normanno-Dano-Saxon*, spoken from the invasion by the Normans till the time of Hen. II., which towards the end of that time, he says, might be termed *Semi-Saxon*. — Writers of considerable eminence appear to have considered this arrangement of the dialects as a complete history of the language, without adverting to the circumstance of Hickes's distinguishing them all from 'the pure and regular language,' which is the primary subject of his work. From this partial view, a notion has become current, that the Dano-Saxon dialect, previously to or during the reigns of the Canutes, became the general language of this country, and that our present language was formed by gradual alterations superinduced upon the Dano-Saxon. This being taken for granted, it has appeared easy to decide upon the antiquity of some of the existing remains. Poems written in Dano-Saxon have been of course ascribed to 'the Dano-Saxon period'; and Beowulf, and the poems of Cædmon, have been deprived of that high antiquity which a perusal of the writings themselves inclines us to attribute to them, and referred to a comparatively modern era.

"With all due respect for the learning of the author of the *Thesaurus*, it may be said, that he has introduced an unnecessary degree of complexity on the subject of the dialects. His first dialect, the Britanno-Saxon, may be fairly laid out of the question. The only indisputable specimen of it, according to his account, is what he calls, 'a fragment of the true Cædmon,' preserved in Alfred's version of Bede, — a poem which has nothing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chains. Their horsemen were armed with iron sledge-hammers. Their priests rode upon mares, and carried into the battle-field an image of the god Irminsula; in figure like an armed man; his helmet crested with a cock; in his right hand a banner, emblazoned with a red rose; a bear, carved upon his breast; and, hanging from his shoulders, a shield, on which was a lion in a field of flowers.

Not two centuries elapsed before this whole people was converted to Christianity. Ælfric, in his homily on the birthday of St. Gregory, informs us, that this conversion was accomplished by the holy wishes of that good man, and the holy works of St. Augustine and other monks. St. Gregory beholding one day certain slaves set for sale in the market-place of Rome, who were "*men* of fair countenance and nobly-haired," and learning that they were heathens, and called Angles, heaved a long sigh, and said; "Well-away! that men of so fair a hue should be subjected to the swarthy devil! Rightly are they called Angles, for they have angels' beauty; and therefore it is fit that they in heaven should be

---

in language or style to distinguish it from the admitted productions of Alfred. Dismissing the supposed Britanno-Saxon, as unworthy of consideration, the principal remains of the Saxon language may be arranged in two classes, viz. those which are written in *pure Anglo-Saxon*, and those which are written in *Dano-Saxon*. These, in fact, were the two great dialects of the language. The former was used (as Hickes observes) in the southern and western parts of England; and the latter in the northern parts of England and the south of Scotland. It is entirely a gratuitous supposition, to imagine, that either of these dialects commenced at a much later period than the other. Each was probably as old as the beginning of the heptarchy. We know, that, among the various nations which composed it, the Saxons became predominant in the southern and western parts, and the Angles in the northern. As these nations were distinct in their original seats on the continent, so they arrived at different times, and brought with them different dialects. This variety of speech continued till the Norman conquest, and even afterwards. It is not affirmed that the dialects were absolutely invariable. Each would be more or less changed by time, and by intercourse with foreigners. The mutual connexion, also, which subsisted between the different nations of the heptarchy would necessarily lead to some intermixture. But we may with safety assert, that the two great dialects of the Saxon language continued substantially distinct as long as the language itself was in use, — that the Dano-Saxon, in short, never superseded the Anglo-Saxon. In a formal dissertation on this subject, citations might be made from the Saxon laws from Ethelbert to Canute, from the Saxon Chronicle, from charters, and from works confessedly written after the Norman conquest, to show, that, whatever changes took place in the dialect of the southern and western parts of Britain, it never lost its distinctive character, or became what can with any propriety be termed Dano-Saxon. After the Norman conquest, both the dialects were gradually corrupted, till they terminated in modern English. During this period of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

companions of angels." As soon, therefore, as he undertook the popehood (*papanhad underfeng*), the monks were sent to their beloved work. In the *Witena Gemot*, or Assembly of the Wise, convened by King Edwin of Northumbria, to consider the propriety of receiving the Christian faith, a Saxon Ealdorman arose, and spake these noble words; "Thus seemeth to me, O king, this present life of man upon earth, compared with the time which is unknown to us; even as if you were sitting at a feast, amid your Ealdormen and Thegns in winter time. And the fire is lighted, and the hall warmed, and it rains, and snows, and storms without. Then cometh a sparrow, and flieth about the hall. It cometh in at one door, and goeth out at another. While it is within, it is not touched by the winter's storm; but that is only for a moment, only for the least space. Out of the winter it cometh, to return again into the winter eftsoon. So also this life of man endureth for a little space. What goeth before it and what followeth after, we know not. Wherefore, if this new lore bring aught more certain and

declension of the Saxon language, nothing was permanent; and whether we call the mixed and changeable language 'Normanno-Dano-Saxon,' or 'Semi-Saxon,' or leave it without any particular appellation, is not very important. — An additional proof that the two great dialects were not consecutive, but contemporary, might be drawn from early writings in *English*, and even from such as were composed long after the establishment of the Normans. We find traces of the pure Anglo-Saxon dialect in Robert of Gloucester, who wrote in the time of Edward the First, and whose works are now understood almost without the aid of a glossary; whereas the language of Robert Langland, who wrote nearly a century later, is more closely connected with the Dano-Saxon, and so different from modern English as to be sometimes almost unintelligible. — Though these differences have been gradually wearing away, our provincial glossaries afford evidence, that, even at the present day, they are not entirely obliterated.

"Alfred's language is esteemed pure Anglo-Saxon; yet we find in his poetical compositions some words, which, according to Hickes, belong to the Dano-Saxon dialect. This may be readily accounted for. It is extremely probable that the works of the poets who flourished in the north of England and the adjoining parts of Scotland, and who composed their poems in Dano-Saxon, were circulated, if not in writing, at least by itinerant reciters, in all the nations of the heptarchy; that they were imitated by the southern poets; and that some particular words and phrases were at length considered as a sort of poetical language, and indispensable to that species of composition. Some words which occur in the poems of Alfred, as well as in Beowulf, Cædmon, &c., are seldom or never met with in prose. Of Alfred's early attention to poetical recitations we have a remarkable testimony in Asser; '*Saxonica poemata die noctuque solers auditor relatu aliorum sæpissime audiens, docibilis memoriter retinebat.*' Wise's *Asser*, p. 16."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more advantageous, then is it worthy, that we should follow it." This brave man spake well; and how like an American Indian! *

Thus the Anglo-Saxons became Christians. For the good of their souls they built monasteries and went on pilgrimages to Rome. The whole country, to use Malmesbury's phrase, was "glorious and refulgent with relics." The priests sang psalms night and day; and so great was the piety of St. Cuthbert, that, according to Bede, he forgot to take off his shoes for months together, — sometimes the whole year round; — from which Mr. Turner infers, that he had no stockings. † They also copied the Evangelists, and illustrated them with illuminations; in one of which St. John is represented in a pea-green dress with red stripes. They also drank ale out of buffalo horns and wooden-knobbed goblets. A Mercian king gave to the Monastery of Croyland his great drinking-horn, that the elder monks might drink therefrom at festivals, and "in their benedictions remember sometimes the soul of the donor, Witlaf." They drank his health, with that of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and other saints. Malmesbury says, that excessive drinking was the common vice of all ranks of people. We know that King Hardicanute died in a revel; and King Edmund in a drunken brawl at Puckle church, being, with all his court, much overtaken by liquor, at the festival of St. Augustine. Thus did mankind go reeling through the Dark Ages; quarrelling, drinking, hunting, hawking, singing psalms, wearing breeches, ‡ grinding in mills, eating hot bread, rocked in cradles, buried in coffins, — weak, suf-

* How much, too, like our Indian names are some of the Anglo-Saxon names, when translated. For example; Æthelwulf, *The noble wolf;* Eadwulf, *The prosperous wolf;* Ealdwulf, *The old wolf;* Hundberht, *The illustrious hound;* Ælfheag, *Tall as an elf;* Dunstan, *The mountain stone;* Heaburg, *The high tower.*

† *History of the Anglo-Saxons,* Vol. II. p. 61.
Over the door of this pious Cuthbert's cell should have been inscribed these two lines, from the *Poem of the Phœnix,* in the Exeter Manuscript;

"Hær se halga stenc
Wunath geond wyn lond."

‡ In an old Anglo-Saxon dialogue, which we shall notice hereafter, a shoemaker says, that he makes "slippers, shoes, and leather breeches," (*swyftleras, sceos, and lether-hose.*)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fering, sublime. Well might King Alfred exclaim, "Maker of all creatures! help now thy miserable mankind."

Having already spoken somewhat of the language of this people, and as much of the people themselves as is necessary for our present uses, we now pass willingly to their literature. But a national literature is a subject, which we always approach with reverence. It is difficult to comprehend fully the mind of a nation; even when that nation still lives, and we can visit it, and its present history, and the lives of men we know, help us to a comment on the written text. But here the dead alone speak. Voices, half understood; fragments of song, ending abruptly, as if the poet had sung no farther, but died with these last words upon his lips; homilies, preached to congregations that have been asleep for many centuries; lives of saints, who went to their reward, long before the world began to scoff at sainthood; and wonderful legends, once believed by men, and now, in this age of wise children, hardly credible enough for a nurse's tale; nothing entire, nothing wholly understood, and no farther comment or illustration, than may be drawn from an isolated fact, found in an old chronicle, or perchance a rude illumination in an old manuscript! Such is the literature we have now to consider. Such fragments, and mutilated remains, has the human mind left of itself, coming down through the times of old, step by step, and every step a century. Old men and venerable accompany us through the Past; and, pausing at the threshold of the Present, they put into our hands, at parting, such written records of themselves, as they have. We should receive these things with reverence. We should respect old age.

> "This leaf, is it not blown about by the wind?
> Woe to it for its fate!
> Alas! it is old."

What an Anglo-Saxon glee-man was, we know from such commentaries as are mentioned above. King Edgar forbade the monks to be ale-poets (*eala scopas*); and one of his accusations against the clergy of his day was, that they entertained glee-men in the monasteries, where they had dicing, dancing, and singing, till midnight. The illumination of an old manuscript shows how a glee-man looked. It is a frontispiece to the Psalms of David. The great psalmist sits upon his throne, with a harp in his hand, and his masters of sacred

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

song around him. Below stands the glee-man; throwing three balls and three knives alternately into the air, and catching them as they fall, like a modern juggler.* But all the Anglo-Saxon poets were not glee-men. All the harpers were not *hoppesteres*, or dancers. The *sceop*, the creator, the poet, rose, at times, to higher things. He sang the deeds of heroes; victorious odes; death-songs; epic poems; or, sitting in cloisters, and afar from these things, put holy writ into Saxon chimes. Of such, our Lusty Juventus would not have said,

> "Who knoweth where is e'er a minstrel?
> By the masse, I would fayne go daunce a fit."

Let us now leave these out-posts and advances, and approach our theme at once. Indeed, we have delayed thus long only that we might approach it from the right point of view;—having first looked down upon it from the vantage ground, which the history, character, and customs of the nation present. We shall first speak of Anglo-Saxon poetry; afterwards, of Anglo-Saxon prose.

The first thing, which strikes the reader of Anglo-Saxon poetry, is the structure of the verse; the short exclamatory lines, whose rhythm depends on alliteration in the emphatic syllables, and to which the general omission of the particles gives great energy and vivacity. Though alliteration predominates in all Anglo-Saxon poetry, rhyme is not wholly wanting. It had line-rhymes and final rhymes; which being added to the alliteration, and brought so near together in the short, emphatic lines, produce a singular effect upon the ear. They ring like blows of hammers on an anvil. For example;

"*F*lah mah *f*liteth,	The strong dart flitteth,
*F*lan man hwiteth,	The spear man whetteth,

* "The honest illuminators, having no ideas of foreign or ancient manners, saw not the absurdity of making the Jewish monarch a president over a company of Saxon glee-men. They had heard, no doubt, that those persons, whose names they found recorded in the book of Psalms, were poets and musicians, and, therefore, naturally concluded, that they were glee-men; because they knew no others, who performed in that double capacity but the glee-men. They knew, also, that these facetious artists were greatly venerated by persons of the highest rank, and their company requested by kings and princes, who richly rewarded them for the exercise of their talents, and, for this reason, conceived that they were proper companions for the royal psalmist." — Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, Book iii. ch. 3.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*B*urg sorg *b*iteth,	Care the city biteth,
*B*ald ald thwiteth,	Age the bold quelleth,
*Wr*æc-fæc *wr*ithath,	Vengeance prevaileth,
*Wr*ath ath smiteth."	Wrath a city assaileth.*

Other peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon poetry, which cannot escape the reader's attention, are its frequent inversions, its bold transitions, and abundant metaphors. These are the things, which render Anglo-Saxon poetry so much more difficult than Anglo-Saxon prose. But upon these points we need not enlarge. It is enough to have thus alluded to them. The references in the note will show where they are fully discussed. We do not wish to go over a ground so often trodden, but come gladly to a consideration of the poetry itself. †

* See Conybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.* In the Introduction, the subject of Anglo-Saxon metre is fully discussed. The same subject is treated of in the grammars of Bosworth and Rask. To these we refer our readers; and likewise, to Vol. XXXIII. of this *Review*, p. 338.

Alliteration was used in English poetry as late as the fifteenth century. William Dunbar wrote in 1455. Here is a short passage from his poem of *The Two Married Women and the Widow.* See Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 210; and Conybeare, *Introduction*, p. lxxii.

" While that the day did updawn
and dew danked flowris,
The morrow mild was and meek,
the mavis did sing,
And all removed the mist
and the mead smelled;
Silver showris down shook
as the sheen cristal,
And birds shouted in the shaw
with their shrill notis;
The golden glittering gleam
so gladden'd their heartis,
They made a glorious glee
among the green boughis.
The soft south of the swyre,
and sound of the streamis,
The sweet savour of the sward
and singing of fowlis,
Might comfort any creature
of the kin of Adam,
And kindle again his courage
though it were cold slokned.

† We add here a short passage in which many of these peculiarities are found. It is from an Ode on the death of King Edgar.

" And tha wearth eac adreafed,	And there was also driven
deormod hæleth;	the beloved hero,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One of the oldest and most important remains of Anglo-Saxon literature is the epic poem of Beowulf. Its age is unknown; but it comes from a very distant and hoar antiquity; somewhere between the seventh and tenth centuries. It is like a piece of ancient armour; rusty and battered, and yet strong. From within comes a voice sepulchral, as if the ancient armour spoke, telling a simple, straight-forward narrative; with here and there the boastful speech of a rough, old Dane, reminding one of those made by the heroes of Homer. The style, likewise, is simple,—perhaps we should say, austere. The bold metaphors, which characterize nearly all the Anglo-Saxon poems we have read, are for the most part wanting in this. The author seems mainly bent upon telling us, how his Sea-Goth slew the Grendel and the Fire-drake. He is too much in earnest to multiply epithets and gorgeous figures. At times he is tedious; at times obscure; and he, who undertakes to read the original, will find it no child's-play; particularly if he undertakes, at the same time, the Latin version of Grim. Johnson Thorkelin.*

The poem begins with a description of King Hrothgar the Scylding, in his great hall of Heort, which reëchoed with the sound of harp and song. But not far off, in the fens and marshes of Jutland, dwelt a grim and monstrous giant, called Grendel, a descendant of Cain. This trouble-

---

Oslac, of earde,	Oslac, from the land,
ofer ytha gewealc,	over the weltering of waves,
ofer ganotes bæth,	over the sea-bird's bath,
gamol-feax hæleth,	the flaxen-haired hero,
wis and word snotor,	wise and word-prudent,
ofer wætera gethring,	over the throng of waters,
ofer hwæles æthel,	over the whale's country,
hama bereafod."	of home bereaved.

* This Danish scholar published an edition of Beowulf in 1815, with the following title; *De Danorum Rebus Gestis Secul. III. et IV. Poëma Danicum Dialecto Anglo-Saxonicâ. Ex Bibliothecâ Cottoniana Musæi Britannici. Havniæ. MDCCCXV.* He made an antiquarian tour in England, in 1786, and took a copy of the MS., which, with a translation and commentary, he had ready for publication in 1807; but the whole unfortunately perished in the bombardment of Copenhagen by the English. Nothing daunted, the laborious, worthy Dane began his work anew, and the result is the quarto bearing his name. We regret to say, that the work is very incorrect, both in the original text and in the translation. Mr. Kemble says of it, that not "five lines can be found in succession, in which some gross fault, either in the transcript or the translation, does not betray the editor's utter ignorance of the Anglo-Saxon language." — *Beowulf.* Preface, p. xxx.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some individual was in the habit of occasionally visiting the Scylding's palace by night, to see, as the author rather quaintly says, "how the doughty Danes found themselves after their beer-carouse."* On his first visit he destroyed some thirty inmates, all asleep, with beer in their brains; and ever afterwards kept the whole land in fear of death. At length the fame of these evil deeds reached the ears of Beowulf, the Thane of Higelac, a famous Viking in those days, who had slain sea-monsters, and wore a wild-boar for his crest. Straightway he sailed with fifteen followers for the court of Heort; unarmed, in the great mead-hall, and at midnight, fought the Grendel, tore off one of his arms, and hung it up on the palace wall as a curiosity; the fiend's fingers being armed with long nails, which the author calls the hand-spurs of the heathen hero, (*hæthenes hond-sporu hilde-rinces.*) Retreating to his cave, the grim ghost (*grima gast*) departed this life; whereat there was great carousing at Heort. But at night came the Grendel's mother, and carried away one of the beer-drunken heroes of the ale-wassail, (*beore druncne ofer eol-wæge.*) Beowulf, with a great escort, pursued her to the fen-lands of the Grendel; plunged, all armed, into a dark-rolling and dreary river, that flowed from the monster's cavern; slew worms and dragons manifold; was dragged to the bottom by the old-wife; and seizing a magic sword, which lay among the treasures of that realm of wonders, with one fell blow, let her heathen soul out of its bone-house, (*ban-hus.*) Having thus freed the land from the giants, Beowulf, laden with gifts and treasures, departed homeward, as if nothing special had happened; and, after the death of King Higelac, ascended the throne of the Scylfings. Here the poem should end, and, we doubt not, did originally end. But, as it has come down to us, eleven more cantos follow, containing a new series of adventures. Beowulf has grown old. He has reigned fifty years; and now, in his gray old age, is troubled by the devastations of a monstrous Fire-drake, so that his metropolis is beleaguered, and he can no longer fly his hawks and merles in the open country. He resolves, at length, to fight with this Fire-drake; and, with the help

* "Hú hit Hring-Dene
æfter beor-thege
ge-búnhæfdon."
Canto ii. v. 232.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of his attendant, Wiglaf, overcomes him. The land is made rich by the treasures found in the dragon's cave: but Beowulf dies of his wounds.

Thus departs Beowulf, the Sea-Goth; of the world-kings the mildest to men, the strongest of hand, the most clement to his people, the most desirous of glory. And thus closes the oldest epic in any modern language; written in forty-three cantos and some six thousand lines. The outline, here given, is filled up with abundant episodes and warlike details. We have ale-revels, and giving of bracelets, and presents of mares, and songs of bards. The battles with the Grendel and the Fire-drake are minutely described; as likewise are the dwellings and rich treasure-houses of these monsters. The fire-stream flows with lurid light; the dragon breathes out flame and pestilential breath; the gigantic sword, forged by the Jutes of old, dissolves and thaws like an icicle in the hero's grasp; and the swart raven tells the eagle how he fared with the fell wolf at the death-feast. Such is, in brief, the machinery of the poem.

We subjoin the third canto entire, as a specimen of the work. The whole passage has a high epic character. Beowulf sets sail for Jutland. We can almost smell the brine, and hear the sea-breeze blow, and see the mainland stretch out its jutting promontories, those sea-noses (*sæ-næssas*), as the poet calls them, into the blue waters of the solemn main.

Thus then much care-worn
the son of Healfden
sorrowed evermore,
nor might the prudent hero
his woes avert.
The war was too hard,
too loath and longsome,
that on the people came,
dire wrath and grim,
of night-woes the worst.
This from home heard
Higelac's Thane,
good among the Goths,
Grendel's deeds.
He was of mankind
in might the strongest,
at that day
of this life,
noble and stalwart.
He bade him a sea-ship,
a goodly one, prepare.
Quoth he, the war-king,
over the swan's road,
seek he would
the mighty monarch,
since he wanted men.
For him that journey
his prudent fellows,
straight made ready,
those that loved him.
They excited their souls,
the omen they beheld.
Had the good-man
of the Gothic people
champions chosen,
of those that keenest

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he might find,
some fifteen men.
The sea-wood sought he.
The warrior showed,
sea-crafty man!
the land-marks,
and first went forth.
The ship was on the waves,
boat under the cliffs.
The barons ready
to the prow mounted,
the streams they whirled,
the sea against the sands.
The chieftains bore
on the naked breast,*
bright ornaments,
war-gear, Goth-like.
The men shoved off,
men on their willing way,
the bounden wood.
Then went over the sea-
hurried by the wind, [waves
the ship with foamy neck,
most like a sea-fowl,
till about one hour
of the second day,
the curved prow
had passed onward
so that the sailors
the land saw,
the shore-cliffs shining,
mountains steep,
and broad sea-noses.
Then was the sea-sailing
of the Earl † at an end.
Then up speedily
the Weather people
on the land went,
the sea-bark moored,
their mail-sarks shook,
their war-weeds.
God thanked they,
that to them the sea-journey
easy had been.
Then from the wall beheld
the warden of the Scyldings,
he who the sea-cliffs
had in his keeping,
bear o'er the balks
the bright shields,
the war-weapons speedily.
Him the doubt disturbed
in his mind's thought,
what these men might be.
Went then to the shore
on his steed riding
the Thane of Hrothgar.
Before the host he shook
his warden's-staff in hand,
in measured words demanded;
"What men are ye
war-gear wearing,
host in harness,
who thus the brown keel
over the water-street
leading come
hither over the sea?
I these boundaries
as shore-warden hold;
that in the Land of the Danes
nothing loathsome,
with a ship-crew
scathe us might....
Ne'er saw I mightier
Earl upon earth
than is your own,
hero in harness.
Not seldom this warrior

* Thorkelin and Conybeare render this line, *In sinum navis vacuum.* We venture on a new reading, mindful of ancient costume, and how

"A painted vest prince Vortigern had on,
Which from a naked Pict his grandsire won."

† We do not give this as a translation of the unknown word *Edletes*, but to supply the blank. As this word has not been found elsewhere, may it not possibly be an error of transcription for *Eorles?*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is in weapons distinguished ;	farther fare.
never his beauty belies him,	Now ye dwellers afar-off !
his peerless countenance !	ye sailors of the sea !
Now would I fain	listen to my
your origin know	one-fold thought.
e'er ye forth	Quickest is best
as false spies	to make known
into the Land of the Danes	whence your coming may be.

We fear, that many of our readers will see very little poetry in all this ; for which we shall be very sorry. Perhaps what follows may please them more ; and seem more poetical. Meanwhile we would inform them, that a new and very beautiful edition of *Beowulf* has been lately published by John M. Kemble, of Trinity College, Cambridge,* who, in his preface, exhorts the reader "to judge this poem, not by the measure of our times and creeds, but those of the times which it describes ; as a rude, but very faithful picture of an age, wanting indeed in scientific knowledge, in mechanical expertness, even in refinement ; but brave, generous, and right-principled ; assuring him of what I well know, that these echoes from the deserted temples of the past, if listened to in a sober and understanding spirit, bring with them matter both strengthening and purifying the heart."*

The next work, to which we would call the attention of our readers is very remarkable, both in a philological and in a poetical point of view ; being written in a more ambitious style than *Beowulf*. It is Cædmon's *Paraphrase of Portions of Holy Writ*. Cædmon was a monk in the Minster of Whitby. He died in the year 680. The only account we have of his life and writings is that given by the Venerable Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*. The following translation of the passage is from Mr. Thorpe's Preface, where the original Latin and King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version are also given.

---

* The title is placed at the head of this Artlcle.

† Grundtvig, a modern Danish poet, has paraphrased the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*, and produced a brilliant heroic poem in ten cantos, of various metre. It was published at Copenhagen, under the title ; *Bjowulf's Drape, Et Gotisk Helte-Digt fra forrige, Aar-Tusinde af Angel-Saxisk paa Danske Riim*, ved Nik. Fred. Sev. Grundtvig. Kjœbenhavn. 1820.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"In this Abbess's* Minster † was a certain brother extraordinarily magnified and honored with a divine gift; for he was wont to make fitting songs which conduced to religion and piety; so that whatever he learned through clerks of the holy writings, that he, after a little space, would usually adorn with the greatest sweetness and feeling, and bring forth in the English tongue; and by his songs the minds of many men were often inflamed with contempt for the world, and with desire of heavenly life. And, moreover, many others after him, in the English nation, sought to make pious songs; but yet none could do like to him, for he had not been taught from men, nor through men, to learn the poetic art; but he was divinely aided, and through God's grace received the art of song. And he therefore never might make aught of leasing or of idle poems, but just those only which conduced to religion, and which it became his pious tongue to sing. The man was placed in worldly life until the time that he was of mature age, and had never learned any poem; and he therefore often in convivial society, ‡ when, for the sake of mirth, it was resolved that they all in turn should sing to the harp, when he saw the harp approaching him, then for shame he would rise from the assembly and go home to his house.

"When he so on a certain time did, that he left the house of the convivial meeting, and was gone out to the stall of the cattle, the care of which that night had been committed to him, — when he there, at proper time, placed his limbs on the bed and slept, then stood some man by him, in a dream, and hailed and greeted him, and named him by his name, [saying,] 'Cædmon, sing me something.' Then he answered and said, 'I cannot sing any thing, and therefore I went out from this convivial meeting, and retired hither, because I could not.' Again he who was speaking with him said, 'Yet thou must sing to me.' Said he, 'What shall I sing?' Said he, 'Sing me the origin of things.' When he received this answer, then he began forthwith to sing, in praise of God the Creator, the verses and the words which he had never heard, the order of which is this;

'Now must we praise the Guardian of heaven's kingdom, the Creator's might, and his mind's thought; glorious Father of men! as of every wonder he, Lord eternal, formed the beginning.

"* Hilda." "† Whitby."

"‡ Literally *Beership*, see *Leges Inæ apud Wilkins*, p. 16; and *Tacit. Germ.* 22, 23."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He first framed
for the children of earth
the heaven as a roof;
holy Creator!
then mid-earth,
the Guardian of mankind,
the eternal Lord,
afterwards produced;
the earth for men,
Lord Almighty!'

"Then he arose from sleep, and had fast in mind all that he sleeping had sung, and to those words forthwith joined many words of song worthy of God in the same measure.

"Then came he in the morning to the town-reeve, who was his superior, and said to him what gift he had received; and he forthwith led him to the abbess, and told, and made that known to her. Then she bade all the most learned men and the learners to assemble, and in their presence bade him tell the dream, and sing the poem; that, by the judgment of them all, it might be determined why or whence that was come. Then it seemed to them all, so as it was, that to him, from the Lord himself, a heavenly gift had been given. Then they expounded to him and said some holy history, and words of godly lore; then bade him, if he could, to sing some of them, and turn them into the melody of song. When he had undertaken the thing, then went he home to his house, and came again in the morning, and sang and gave to them, adorned with the best poetry, what had been bidden him. Then began the abbess to make much of and love the grace of God in the man; and she then exhorted and instructed him to forsake worldly life and take to monkhood; and he that well approved. And she received him into the minster with his goods, and associated him with the congregation of those servants of God, and caused him to be taught the series of the Holy History and Gospel; and he all that he could learn by hearing meditated with himself, and, as a clean animal, ruminating, turned into the sweetest verse; and his song and his verse were so winsome to hear, that his teachers themselves wrote and learned from his mouth. He first sang of earth's creation, and of the origin of mankind, and all the history of Genesis, which is the first book of Moses, and then of the departure of the people of Israel from the Egyptians' land, and of the entrance of the land of promise, and of many other histories of the canonical books of Holy Writ; and of Christ's incarnation, and of his passion, and of his ascension into heaven; and of the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the doctrine of the Apostles; and also of the terror of the doom to come, and the fear of hell-torment, and the sweetness of the heavenly kingdom, he made many poems; and, in like manner, many others of the divine bene-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fits and judgments he made ; in all which he earnestly took care to draw men from the love of sins and wicked deeds, and to excite to a love and desire of good deeds ; for he was a very pious man, and to regular disciplines humbly subjected ; and against those who in other wise would act, he was inflamed with the heat of great zeal ; and he therefore with a fair end his life closed and ended.

" For when the time approached of his decease and departure, then was he for fourteen days ere that oppressed and troubled with bodily infirmity ; yet so moderately, that, during all that time, he could both speak and walk. There was in the neighbourhood a house for infirm men, in which it was their custom to bring the infirm, and those who were on the point of departure, and there attend to them together. Then bade he his servant, on the eve of the night that he was going from the world, to prepare him a place in that house, that he might rest ; whereupon the servant wondered why he this bade, for it seemed to him that his departure was not so near ; yet he did as he said and commanded. And when he there went to bed, and in joyful mood was speaking some things, and joking together with those who were therein previously, then it was over midnight that he asked, whether they had the eucharist within. They answered, ' What need is to thee of the eucharist ? thy departure is not so near, now thou thus cheerfully, and thus gladly, art speaking to us.' Again he said, ' Bring me nevertheless the eucharist.' When he had it in his hands, he asked, whether they had all a placid mind and kind, and without any ill-will towards him. Then they all answered, and said, that they knew of no ill-will towards him, but they all were very kindly disposed ; and they besought him in turn that he would be kindly disposed to them all. Then he answered and said, ' My beloved brethren, I am very kindly disposed to you and all God's men.' And he thus was strengthening himself with the heavenly viaticum, and preparing himself an entrance into another life. Again he asked, ' How near it was to the hour that the brethren must rise and teach the people of God, and sing their nocturns ? ' They answered, ' It is not far to that.' He said, ' It is well, let us await the hour.' And then he prayed, and signed himself with Christ's cross, and reclined his head on the bolster, and slept for a little space ; and so with stillness ended his life. And thus it was, that as he with pure and calm mind and tranquil devotion had served God, that he, in like manner, left the world with as calm a death, and went to his presence ; and the tongue that had composed so many holy words in the Creator's praise, he, then, in like manner, its last words

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

closed in his praise, crossing himself, and committing his soul into his hands. Thus it is seen that he was conscious of his own departure, from what we have now heard say."—pp. xix – xxix.

Thus lived and died the Monk of Whitby. By some he is called the Father of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, because his name stands first in the history of Saxon song-craft; by others, the Milton of our Forefathers; because he sang of Lucifer and the Loss of Paradise. The resemblance goes no farther than this; he is a Milton in his theme only.

The poem is divided into two books. The first is nearly complete, and contains a paraphrase of parts of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha. The second is so mutilated as to be only a series of unconnected fragments. It contains scenes from the New Testament, and is chiefly occupied *with Christ's descent into the lower regions*; a favorite theme in old times, and well known in the history of miracle-plays, as the "Harrowing of Hell." The author is a pious, prayerful monk; "an awful, reverend, and religious man." He has all the simplicity of a child. He calls his Creator the Blithe-heart King; the patriarchs, Earls; and their children, Noblemen. Abraham is a wise-heedy man, a guardian of bracelets, a mighty earl; and his wife Sarah, a woman of elfin-beauty. The sons of Reuben are called Sea-Pirates. A laugher is a laughter-smith (*hleahtor-smith*); the Ethiopians, a people brown with the hot coals of heaven, (*brune leode hatum heofon-colum.*)

Striking poetic epithets and passages are not, however, wanting. They are sprinkled here and there throughout the narrative. The sky is called the roof of nations, the roof adorned with stars. After the overthrow of Pharaoh and his folk, he says, the blue air was with corruption tainted, and *the bursting ocean whooped a bloody storm.* Nebuchadnezzar is described as *a naked, unwilling wanderer, a wondrous wretch and weedless.* Horrid ghosts, swart and sinful,

> "Wide through windy halls
> Wail woful."

And, in the sack of Sodom, we are told, how many a fearful, pale-faced damsel *must trembling go into a stranger's embrace*; and how fell the defenders of brides and bracelets, *sick with wounds.* Indeed, whenever the author has a battle to describe, and hosts of arm-bearing and war-faring men

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

draw from their sheaths the ring-hilted sword of edges doughty (*hring-mæled sweord ecgum dihtig*), he enters into the matter with so much spirit, that one almost imagines he sees, looking from under that monkish cowl, the visage of no parish priest, but of a grim war-wolf, as the brave were called, in the days when Cædmon wrote.

We will not, however, confine ourselves to such criticism as this, but extract here, as a specimen of Cædmon's power, a part of the Flight of the Israelites, which is one of the best portions of the work.

"Loud was the shout of the host,
the heavenly beacon rose
each evening.
Another stupendous wonder!—
After the sun's
setting course, they beheld
over the people,
a flame to shine,
a burning pillar;
pale stood
over the archers
the clear beams,
the bucklers shone.
The shades prevailed;
yet the falling nightly shadows
might not near
shroud the gloom.
The heavenly candle burnt,
the new night-ward
must by compulsion
rest over the hosts,
lest them horror of the waste,
the hoar heath
with its raging storms,
should overwhelm,
their souls fail.
"Had their harbinger
fiery locks,
pale beams;
a cry of dread resounded
in the martial host,
at the hot flame,
that it in the waste
would burn up the host,
unless they zealously
Moses obeyed.
"Shone the bright host,
the shields gleamed;
the bucklered warriors saw
in a straight course
the sign over the bands,
till that the sea-barrier,
at the land's end,
the people's force withstood,
suddenly, on their onward way.
"A camp arose;—
they cast them weary down;
approached with sustenance
the bold sewers;*
they their strength repaired,
spread themselves about,
after the trumpet sang,
the sailors in the tents.
"Then was the fourth station,
the shielded warriors' rest,
by the Red Sea."
— pp. 184 – 186.
"Then of his men the mind
became despondent,
after that they saw,
from the south ways,
the host of Pharaoh
coming forth,

"* Literally, *meat-thanes*."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moving over the holt,
the band glittering.
They prepared their arms,
the war advanced,
bucklers glittered,
trumpets sang,
standards rattled,
they trod the nation's frontier.
Around them screamed
the fowls of war,
greedy of battle,
dewy-feathered,
over the bodies of the host,
(*the dark chooser of the slain;*) *
the wolves sung
their horrid evensong,
in hopes of food,
the reckless beasts,
threatening death to the valiant ; *
on the foes' track flew
the army-fowl. *
" The march-wards cried
at midnight ;
flew the spirit of death ; *
the people were hemmed in.
" At length of that host
the proud thanes
met mid the paths, *
in bendings of the boundaries ;
to them there the banner-king
marched with the standard,
the prince of men
rode the marches with his band ;
the warlike guardian of the people
clasped his grim helm,
the king, his visor.
The banners glittered
in hopes of battle ;
slaughter shook the proud.
He bade his warlike band
bear them boldly,
the firm body.
The enemy saw
with hostile eyes
the coming of the natives :
about him moved
fearless warriors.
The hoar army wolves
the battle hailed,
thirsty for the brunt of war."
— pp. 187 – 189.

Cædmon's *Paraphrase* was first published by Francis Junius, in Amsterdam. † The text of Mr. Thorpe's edition is founded on a careful collation of that of Junius with the Bodleian Manuscript. It has been printed with great beauty, under the superintendence of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Fac-simile engravings of the illuminations in the old manuscript accompany the work. ‡

We must not pass from this subject without mentioning,

* Conjectural reading.

† *Cædmonis Monachi Paraphrasis poetica Genesios ac præcipuarum Sacræ Paginæ Historiarum, abhinc annos MLXX Anglo-Saxonice conscripta, et nunc primum edita* a Francisco Junio. F. F. Amstelodami : 1655.

‡ *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures, in Anglo-Saxon ; with an English Translation, Notes, and a Verbal Index,* by Benjamin Thorpe, F. S. A. London. 1832. 8vo.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the authenticity of these remains has been called in question, or, perhaps we should say, denied by Hickes and others. They suppose the work to belong to as late a period as the tenth century, on account of its similarity in style and dialect to other poems of that age. Besides, the fragment of the ancient Cædmon, given by Bede, describing the Creation, does not correspond exactly with the passage on the same subject in the Junian or Pseudo Cædmon; and, moreover, Hickes says he has detected so many Dano-Saxon words and phrases in it, that he "cannot but think it was written by some Northymbrian (in the Saxon sense of the word), after the Danes had corrupted their language." * Mr. Thorpe replies very conclusively to all this; that the language of the poem is as pure Anglo-Saxon as that of Alfred himself; that the Danisms exist only in the "imagination of the learned author of the *Thesaurus*"; and that, if they were really to be found in the work under consideration, it would prove no more, than that the manuscript was a copy made by a Northumbrian scribe, at a period when the language had become corrupted. As to the passage in Bede, the original of Cædmon was not given; only a Latin translation by Bede, which Alfred, in his version of the Venerable historian, has re-translated into Anglo-Saxon. Hence the difference between these lines and the opening lines of the poem. We confess our own opinion coincides with that of Mr. Thorpe. In its themes the poem corresponds exactly with that which Bede informs us Cædmon wrote; and its claim to authenticity can hardly be destroyed by such objections as have been brought against it. †

Such are the two great narrative poems of the Anglo-Saxon tongue. Of a third, a short fragment remains. It is a mutilated thing; a mere *torso*. Judith of the Apocrypha is

* *Letter to Bishop Nicholson*, in Thorpe's Preface, p. ix.

† The creation of the world, seems to have been a favorite theme with Anglo-Saxon poets. In the poem of *Beowulf* the bards at the court of Hrothgar are described as singing this high theme.

"Thær wæs hearpan sweg
swutol sang scópes
sægde se the cúthe
frum-sceaft fira
feorran reccan
cwæth thæt se æl-mihtiga
eorthan worhte," etc.

Canto I. v. 178.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the heroine. The part preserved describes the death of Holophernes in a fine, brilliant style, delighting the hearts of all Anglo-Saxon scholars. The original will be found in Mr. Thorpe's *Analecta;* and translations of some passages in Turner's *History*. But a more important fragment, in our opinion, is that on the *Death of Byrhtnoth*, at the battle of Maldon. This, likewise, is in Thorpe; and a prose translation is given by Conybeare in his *Illustrations*. It savors of rust and of antiquity. It smells of mortality; like *Old Hildebrand* in German. What a fine passage is this, spoken by an aged vassal over the dead body of the hero, in the thickest of the fight!

"Byrhtwold spoke; he was an aged vassal; he raised his shield; he brandished his ashen spear; he full boldly exhorted the warriors. 'Our spirit shall be the hardier, our heart shall be the keener, our soul shall be the greater, the more our forces diminish. Here lieth our chief all mangled; the brave one in the dust; ever may he lament his shame that thinketh to fly from this play of weapons! Old am I in life, yet will I not stir hence; but I think to lie by the side of my lord, by that much loved man!'"

Shorter than either of these fragments is a third on the *Fight of Finsborough*. Its chief value seems to be, that it relates to the same action, which formed the theme of one of Hrothgar's bards in *Beowulf*.* Mr. Conybeare has given it a place in his work. In addition to these narrative poems and fragments, two others, founded on Lives of Saints, are mentioned, though they have never been published. They are the *Life and Passion of St. Juliana:* and the *Visions of the Hermit Guthlac*. The very names pique our curiosity exceedingly. We are sure that in those Visions of the Hermit Guthlac lies hidden much strange lore.

There is another narrative poem, which we must mention here on account of its subject, though of a much later date than the foregoing. It is the *Chronicle of King Lear and his Daughters*, in Norman-Saxon; not rhymed throughout, but with rhymes too often recurring to be accidental. As a poem, it has no merit, but shows that the story of Lear is very old; for, in speaking of the old King's death and burial, it refers to a previous account, "as the book telleth," (*ase*

* See Canto XVI.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the bock telleth.) Cordelia is married to Aganippus, king of France; and after his death reigns over England, though Maglaudus, king of Scotland, declares, that it is a "muckle shame, that a *queen* should be *king* over the land." *

Besides these long, elaborate poems, the Anglo-Saxons had their odes and ballads. Thus, when King Canute was sailing by the abbey of Ely, he heard the voices of the monks, chanting their vesper hymn. Whereupon he sang, in the best Anglo-Saxon he was master of, the following rhyme;

> "Merry sang the monks in Ely,
> As King Canute was steering by.
> Row, ye knights, near the land,
> And hear we these monks' song." †

The best, and properly speaking perhaps, the only Anglo-Saxon odes we have, are those preserved in the *Saxon Chronicle*, in recording the events they celebrate. They are five in number. Æthelstan's Victory at Brunanburh, A. D. 938; the Victories of Edmund Ætheling, A. D. 942; the Coronation of King Edgar, A. D. 973; the Death of King Edgar, A. D. 975; and the Death of King Edward, A. D. 1065. The Battle of Brunanburh is already pretty well known by the numerous English versions, and attempts thereat, which have been given of it. Warton, Turner, and Ingram, have each translated it. Mr. Henshall, likewise, in Ellis's *Specimens of English Poets*, presented to the world an attempt at a translation;—and, perhaps, the most unsuccessful attempt ever made in any language. Last of all, Mr. Price, in his edition of *Warton's History of English Poetry*, has given what is generally considered the most accurate version, although the text is nearly hidden by a vast scaffolding of illustrations, and almost every line propped up by a double column of notes. We consider this ode, as one of the most characteristic specimens of Anglo-Saxon poetry. What a striking picture is that of the lad with flaxen hair, mangled

---

* "For hit was swithe mochel same,
and eke hit was mochel grame,
that a cwene solde
be king in thisse land."

† "Merie sungen the muneches binnen Ely,
Tha Cnut ching reuther by;
Roweth, cnihtes, noer the land,
And here we thes muneches sang."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with wounds; and of the seven earls of Anlaf, and the five young kings, lying on the battle-field, lulled asleep by the sword! Indeed, the whole ode is striking, bold, graphic. The furious onslaught; the cleaving of the wall of shields; the hewing down of banners; the din of the fight; the hard hand-play; the retreat of the Northmen, in nailed ships, over the stormy sea; and the deserted dead, on the battle-ground, left to the swart raven, the war-hawk, and the wolf; — all these images appeal strongly to the imagination. The bard has nobly described this victory of the illustrious war-smiths (*wlance wig-smithas*), the most signal victory since the coming of the Saxons into England; so say the books of the old wise men. We will copy this ode entire. For the others we refer our readers to Mr. Ingram's edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

"Æthelstan the king,
lord of earls,
bracelet-giver of barons,
and his brother eke,
Eadmund the prince,
very illustrious chieftain,
combated in battle,
with edges of swords,
near Brunanburh.
They clove the board-wall,
hewed the high lindens,
with relics of hammers (i. e. swords),
the children of Edward.
Such was to them (their native nobility,
from their ancestors,
that they in battle oft,
against every foe [loathed one],
the land preserved,
hoard and homes,
the enemy crushed.
The Scottish people,
and the mariners,
fated fell.
The field ———,
with warriors' blood,
since the sun up,
on morrow-tide,
mighty planet,
glided over grounds,
bright candle of God,
of the eternal Lord;
till the noble creature,
sank to her seat [settle].
There lay many a warrior,
strewed by darts,
northern man,
shot over the shield.
So Scottish eke,
weary of war —.
The West-Saxons forth,
the continuous day,
in battalions,
laid on the foot-steps,
to the loathed race.
They hewed the fugitives,
hindwards exceedingly,
with swords mill-sharp.
The Mercians refused not,
of the hard hand-play,
to none of the men,
of those who with Anlaf,
over the ocean,
in the ship's bosom,
sought our land,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fated to the fight.
Five lay,
on the battle-stead,
young kings,
soothed with swords.
So seven eke,
earls of Anlaf's;
numberless of the army,
of sailors and Scots.
There was chased away,
the leader of the Northmen,
compelled by need,
to the ship's prow,
with a little band.
The ship drove afloat,
the king departed out,
on the fallow flood,
preserved his life.
So there also the sapient one,
by flight came,
on his country north,
Constantine,
hoary warrior.
He needed not to boast,
of the commerce of swords.
Here was his kindred troop,
of friends destroyed [felled,]
on the folk-stead,
slain in battle;
and his son he left,
on the slaughter-place,
mangled with wounds,
young in the fight.
He needed not to boast,
bairn blended-haired,
of the bill-clashing,
old deceiver;
nor Anlaf any more,
with the relics of their armies,
needed not to laugh,
that they of warlike works,
better men were,
on the battle-stead,
at the conflict of banners,
the meeting of spears,
the assembly of men,
the interchange of weapons,
of that which they on the slaughter-field,
with Edward's,
children played.
The Northmen departed,
in their nailed ships,
gory relic of the darts,
on — — —
over deep water,
Dublin to seek,
Ireland again,
with a shamed mind.
So too the brothers,
both together,
king and prince,
sought their country,
land of the West Saxons,
of the war exulting.
They left behind them,
the corse to enjoy,
the sallowy ———
the swarth raven,
the horned nibbed one;
and the dusky ———,
eagle white behind [after],
of the corse to enjoy,
greedy war-hawk;
and that gray beast [deer],
the wolf on the wold.
Nor was there a greater slaughter,
on this island,
ever yet,
of folk felled,
before this,
by the sword's edges,
of that say to us in books,
old historians,
since eastward hither,
Angles and Saxons,
up came,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

over the broad seas,
Britain sought,
splendid war-smiths,
overcame the Welsh,
earls exceeding bold [keen],
obtained the earth."
Warton, I., pp. lxxxvii – ci.

And here we would make due and honorable mention of the *Poetic Calendar*, and of King Alfred's *Version of the Metres of Boëthius;* both of which have been lately published, with an English translation and notes, by the Reverend Samuel Fox;* a gentleman whom we know not, but whom we honor for this phrase in one of his prefaces; "When, however, we consider the difficulties which men, like Junius, Rawlinson, and Hickes, had to contend with, the errors, which they committed, ought to be forgotten in grateful admiration of what they actually accomplished." The *Poetic Calendar* is a chronicle of great events in the lives of saints, martyrs, and apostles, referred to the days on which they took place. At the end is a very remarkable ode, which we cannot choose but copy here. Mr. Fox's translation we have never seen. We give Mr. Turner's;† though, had we made one for ourselves, we should have rendered some lines differently.

"The King shall hold the Kingdom;
castles shall be seen afar,
the work of the minds of giants,
that are on this earth;
the wonderful work of wallstones.
"The wind is the swiftest in the sky;
thunder is the loudest of noises;
great is the majesty of Christ;
fortune is the strongest;
winter is the coldest;
spring has most hoar-frost;
he is the longest cold;
summer sun is most beautiful;
the air is then hottest;
fierce harvest is the happiest;

* *Menologium, or the Poetical Calendar of the Anglo-Saxons. With an English Translation and Notes*, by the Rev. Samuel Fox. 1830. 8vo.
King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Metres of Boëthius. With an English Translation and Notes. London: 1835. 8vo.
† *History of the Anglo-Saxons.* Book XII. ch. 1. Ed. 1807. The original may be found in Hickes, *Thesaurus.* Vol. I. p. 203.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it bringeth to men
the tribute-fruits,
that to them God sendeth.
Truth is most deceiving ;
treasures are most precious,
gold, to every man ;
and age is the wisest,
sagacious from ancient days,
from having before endured much.
Woe is a wonderful burthen ;
clouds roam about ;
the young Etheling
good companions shall
animate to war,
and to the giving of bracelets.
" Strength in the earl,
the sword with the helm
shall abide battle.
The hawk in the sea-cliff
shall live wild ;
the wolf in the grove ;
the eagle in the meadow ;
the boar in the wood,
powerful with the strength of his tusk.
" The good man in his country
will do justice.
With the dart in the hand,
the spear adorned with gold,
the gem in the ring
will stand pendent and curved.
The stream in the waves
will make a great flood.
The mast in the keel
will groan with the sail yards.
The sword will be in the bosom,
the lordly iron ;
the dragon will rest on his hillock,
crafty, proud with his ornaments ;
the fish will in the water
produce a progeny.
" The king will in the hall
distribute bracelets.
The bear will be on the heath
old and terrible.
The water will from the hill

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bring down the grey earth.
The army will be together
strong with the bravest.
Fidelity in the earl ;
wisdom in man !
The woods will on the ground
blow with fruit ;
the mountains in the earth
will stand green.
" God will be in heaven
the judge of deeds.
The door will be to the hall
the mouth of the roomy mansion.
The round will be on the shield,
the fast fortress of the fingers.
" Fowl aloft
will sport in the air ;
salmon in the whirlpool
will roll with the skate ;
the shower in the heavens,
mingled with wind,
will come on the world.
The thief will go out
in dark weather.
The Thyrs* will remain in the fen,
alone in the land.
A maiden with secret arts,
a woman, her friend will seek,
if she cannot
in public grow up
so that men may buy her with bracelets.
The salt ocean will rage ;
the clouds of the supreme Ruler,
and the water floods
about every land,
will flow in expansive streams.
" Cattle in the earth
will multiply and be reared.
Stars will in the heavens
shine brightly,
as their Creator commanded them.
" God against evil ;
youth against age ;

" * A Thyrs was among the Northerns a giant, or wild mountain savage, a sort of evil-being, somewhat supernatural."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

life against death,
light against darkness,
army against army,
enemy against enemies,
hate against hate,
shall everywhere contend;
sin will steal on.
" Always will the prudent strive
about this world's labor
to hang the thief;
and compensate the more honest,
for the crime committed
against mankind.
" The Creator alone knows
whither the soul
shall afterwards roam,
and all the spirits
that depart in God.
After their death-day
they will abide their judgment
in their father's bosom.
Their future condition
is hidden and secret.
God alone knows it,
the preserving father!
None again return
hither to our houses,
that any truth
may reveal to man,
about the nature of the Creator,
or the people's habitations of glory
which he himself inhabits."

From Alfred's poetic Version of the *Metres of Boëthius*, we have not room to quote. From his prose translation of the Roman Philosopher's *Consolations*, we shall make some extracts hereafter.

In addition to these narratives and odes and didactic Poems, there is a vast number of minor poems on various subjects, some of which have been published, though for the most part they still lie asleep in manuscripts; — hymns, allegories, doxologies, proverbs, enigmas, paraphrases of the Lord's Prayer, poems on Death and the Day of Judgment, and the like. A great quantity of them is contained in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

celebrated Exeter Manuscript; a folio given by Bishop Leofric to the Cathedral of Exeter in the eleventh century, and called by the donor, a "*mycel Enisc boc be gehwylcum thingum on leothwisan geworht,*" *gl*a great English book about every thing, composed in verse. A minute account of the contents of this manuscript is given by Conybeare in his *Illustrations*, with numerous extracts. Among these is the beginning of a very singular and striking poem, entitled, *The Soul's Complaint against the Body.* The departed spirit is represented as returning, ghastly and shrieking, to find the body it had left.

"Cleopath thonne swa cearful
caldan reorde,
spriceth grimlice
gæst to than duste;
'Drugu thu dreorga!
to hwon dreahtest thu me!
Eorthan fylnes
eal forweornast,
lames gelicnes.
Lyt thu gethotest to won
thinne sawle-sith
sith-than wurd
sith-than heo of lichoman
læded wære.'"

"Crieth then, so care-worn
with cold utterance,
and speaketh grimly,
the ghost to the dust;
'Dry dust! thou dreary one!
how little didst thou labor for me!
In the foulness of earth
thou all wearest away
like to the loam!
Little didst thou think
how thy soul's journey
would be thereafter,
when from the body
it should be led forth.'"*

But perhaps the most curious poem in the Exeter Manuscript is the Rhyming Poem, to which we have before alluded. It is published entire in the Introduction to Conybeare's *Illustrations.* We have room for one short extract only.

* The conception of this poem reminds us of that most appalling "Ode to a Dead Body," by Andrea de Basso, a priest of Ferrara; beginning

"Rise from the loathsome and devouring tomb,
Give up thy body, woman without heart,
Now that its worldly part
Is over; and deaf, blind, and dumb
To worms thou givest food,
And, from thine altitude
Shaken by death's rude touch,
Makest the grave thy couch."

See Leigh Hunt's very free and spirited translation.— *Poetical Works*, p. 261.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Swa nu world wendeth ;	"Thus now the world wend-eth;
Wyrde sendeth,	Fate sendeth [men to their doom],
And hetes henteth ;	And feuds pursue them ;
Hælethe scyndeth,	Chieftains oppress,
Wer cynge witeth,	War-kings go forth,
Wæl gar sliteth,	The dart of slaughter pierc-eth,
Flah mah fliteth,	The violent arrow flieth, *
Flan man hwiteth,	The spear smiteth them,
Burg sorg biteth ;	Sorrow devoureth the city ;
Bald ald thwiteth,	The bold man in age decays,
Wræc-fæc writhath,	The season of vengeance tor-menteth him,
Wrath ath smiteth ;	And enmity easily assaileth him ;
Sin-grynd sidath,	The abyss of sin increaseth,
Sæcre [sæaro] fearo glideth,	Sudden treachery glideth in,
Grom torn græfeth,	Grim rage grieveth,
Græft hafath,	Woe possesseth,
Searo hwit solath	Every possession is deceitful,
Sumur het colath,	Summer's heat groweth cool,
Fold fela fealleth,	Many things fall to the ground,
Feond-scire wealleth,	The portion of strife abound-eth,
Eorth mægen ealdath,	Earthly power groweth old,
Ellen colath.	Courage groweth cold.
Me thæt wyrd gewæf,	This Fate wove for me,
And gehwyrt forgeaf	And as decreed assigned it,
Thæt ic grofe græf.	That I should grieve with this grief.
And thæt grimme græf	And the grim grave
Flean flæsce ne mæg ;	Flesh may not flee ;
Thon flah hred dæg,	Soon as the rapid day hath flown,
Nid grapum nimeth	Necessity seizeth in her grasp
Thon seo neah becymeth ;	When she cometh nigh ;
Seo me ethles onfonn,	She that hath taken me from my country,
And mec her heardes on conn."	And here exerciseth me in hardship."

pp. xxiii, xxiv.

We shall offer our readers only one more poetical ex-

* The reader will perceive that our translation, on p. 100, differs a little from Mr. Conybeare's, as here given.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tract. It is of a much later date than the others we have given, being in Norman-Saxon. It is taken from a manuscript volume of "Homilies" in the Bodleian Library. The subject is the Grave. It is Death that speaks.

"For thee was a house built
Ere thou wert born,
For thee was a mould meant,
Ere thou of mother camest.
But it is not made ready,
Nor its depth measured,
Nor is it seen
How long it shall be.
Now I bring thee
Where thou shalt be.
Now I shall measure thee
And the mould afterwards.

"Thy house is not
Highly timbered,
It is unhigh and low,
When thou art therein,
The heel-ways are low,
The side-ways unhigh.
The roof is built
Thy breast full nigh,
So thou shalt in mould
Dwell full cold
Dimly and dark.

"Doorless is that house
And dark it is within;
There thou art fast detained,
And Death hath the key.
Loathsome is that earth-house,
And grim within to dwell.
There thou shalt dwell,
And worms shall divide thee.

"Thus thou art laid
And leavest thy friends;
Thou hast no friend,
Who will come to thee,
Who will ever see
How that house pleaseth thee;
Who will ever open
For thee the door

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And descend after thee,
For soon thou art loathsome
And hateful to see." *

We now come to Anglo-Saxon Prose. At the very boundary of this portion of our subject, stand two great works, like landmarks. These are the *Saxon Laws*, promulgated by the various kings, that ruled the land; † and the *Saxon Chronicle*, ‡ in which all great historic events, from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the twelfth century, are recorded by contemporary writers, mainly, it would seem, the monks of Winchester, Peterborough, and Canterbury. § To review these works, valuable and important as they are, comes not within our plan. If it did, we fear our readers would write at the end, as Gervase of Canterbury did at the end of his first Chronicle, *Finito libro reddatur gratia Christo.* To historians, therefore, and lawgivers, we leave these works. And, setting these aside, doubtless the most important remains of Anglo-Saxon Prose are the writings of King Alfred the Great.

What a sublime old character was King Alfred! Alfred, the Truth-teller! Thus the ancient historian surnamed him, as others were surnamed the Unready, Ironside, Harefoot. The principal events of his life are known to all men; — the nine battles fought in the first year of his reign; his flight to the marshes and forests of Somersetshire; his poverty and suffering, wherein was fulfilled the prophecy of St. Neot, that he should "be bruised like the ears of wheat"; his life with the swineherd, whose wife bade him turn the cakes, that they might not be burnt, for she saw daily that he was a

* For the original text, see Conybeare's *Illustrations*, page 271, and Thorpe's *Analecta*, page 142.

† *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ Ecclesiasticæ et Civiles; et Notas, versionem et glossarium adjecit David Wilkins.* London: 1721. Folio.

‡ *The Saxon Chronicle, with an English Translation, and Notes, Critical and Explanatory.* By the Rev. J. Ingram. London: 1823. 4to.

The style of this Chronicle rises at times far above that of most monkish historians. For instance, in recording the death of William the Conqueror, the writer says; "Sharp death, that passes by neither rich men nor poor, seized him also. Alas! how false and how uncertain is this world's weal! He that was before a rich king, and lord of many lands, had not then of all his land more than a space of seven feet! and he that was whilom enshrouded in gold and gems, lay there covered with mould." A. D. 1087.

§ See, on this subject, *Ancient History, English and French, exemplified in a Regular Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle, &c., wherein the principal Saxon Annalists are now (for the first time) identified.* London; 1830. 8vo.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

great eater ;* his successful rally ; his victories, and his future glorious reign ; these things are known to all men. And not only these, which are events in his life, but also many more, which are traits in his character, and controlled events ; as, for example, that he was a wise and virtuous man ; a religious man ; a learned man for that age. Perhaps they know, even, how he measured time with his six horn lanterns ; and, moreover, was an author and wrote many books. But of these books how few persons have read even a single line ! And yet it is well worth one's while, if he wish to see all the calm dignity of that great man's character, and how in him the scholar and the man outshone the king. For example, do we not know him better, and honor him more, when we hear from his own lips, as it were, such sentiments as these ? "God has made all men equally noble in their original nature. True nobility is in the mind, not in the flesh. I wished to live honorably whilst I lived, and after my life, to leave to the men who were after me my memory in good works ! "

The chief writings of this Royal Author are his translations of Gregory's *Pastoralis*, or *Herdsman's Book ;* Boëthius's *Consolations of Philosophy*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History ;* and the *History of Orosius ;* known in manuscripts by the mysterious title of *Hormesta*. Of these works the most remarkable is the Boëthius ; so much of his own mind has Alfred infused into it. Properly speaking, it is not so much a translation as a gloss or paraphrase ; for the Saxon king, upon his throne, had a soul, which was near akin to that of the last of the Roman philosophers in his prison. He had suffered, and could sympathize with suffering humanity. He adorned and carried out still farther the reflections of Boëthius. He begins his task, however, with an apology, saying, "Alfred, king, was translator of this book, and turned it from book-latin into English, as he most plainly and clearly could, amid the various and manifold worldly occupations, which often busied him in mind and body ;" and ends with a prayer, beseeching God, "by the sign of the holy cross, and by the virginity of the blessed Mary, and by the obedience of the blessed Michael, and by the love of all the saints

* "Wend thu thao hlafes, tha he ne forbeornen, fortham ic geseo deighamlice tha thu mycel ete eart." — Asser, *Life of Alfred*. ap. Turner.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and their merits," that his mind might be made steadfast to the divine will and his own soul's need. From this work we subjoin a few extracts.*

"Observe now the sun, and also the other heavenly bodies. When the swarthy clouds come before them, they cannot give their light. So, also, the south wind sometimes with a great storm troubles the sea, which before, in serene weather, was transparent as glass to behold. When it, then, is so mingled with the billows, it is very quickly unpleasant, though it before was pleasant to look upon. So, also, is the brook, though it be strong in its right course, when a great rock, rolling down from the high mountain, falls into it, and divides it, and hinders it from its right course. In like manner, does the darkness of thy trouble now withstand my enlightened precepts. But, if thou art desirous, with right faith, to know the true light; put away from thee the evil and vain joys, and also the vain sorrows and the evil fear of this world; that is, that thou lift not thyself up with arrogance, in thy health and in thy prosperity; nor, again, despair of good in any adversity. For the mind is ever bound with misery, if, of these two evils, either reigns."

p. 23.

"When Wisdom had sung this lay he was silent, and the Mind then answered, and thus said; O Reason, indeed thou knowest, that covetousness and the greatness of this earthly power never well pleased me, nor did I very much endeavour after this earthly authority. But I was nevertheless desirous of materials for the work which I was commanded to perform; to the end that I might honorably and fitly steer and exercise the power which was committed to me. Moreover thou knowest that no man can show any craft, or exercise or steer any power, without tools and materials. That is, of every craft, the materials, without which man cannot exercise the craft. This then is a king's materials and his tools to reign with; that he have his land well peopled. He must have prayermen, and soldiers, and workmen. Thou knowest, that without these tools no king can show his craft. This is also his materials, which he must have, besides the tools; provision for the three classes. This is then their provision; land to inhabit, and gifts, and weapons, and meat, and ale, and clothes, and whatsoever is necessary for the three classes. He cannot without these preserve the tools, nor without the tools work any of the things which he is commanded to perform. Therefore I was desirous of materials wherewith to exercise the

* The reader will find passages from the translations of Bede and Orosius, in Thorpe's *Analecta*. An edition of Alfred's *Orosius*, with an English translation by Daines Barrington, has been published. London: 1773. 8vo.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power, that my talents and power might not be forgotten and concealed. For every craft and every power is soon grown old and passed in silence, if it be without wisdom; for no man can fulfil any craft without wisdom. Because whatsoever is done through folly, no one can ever reckon for craft. — This is now especially to be said; that *I wished to live honorably whilst I lived, and after my life to leave to the men who were after me my memory in good works.*" — pp. 91, 93.

"When Wisdom had made this speech, he began again to sing, and thus said; Whosoever desires fully to possess power, ought to labor first, that he have power over his own mind, and be not indecently subject to his vices. Also let him put away from his mind unbecoming solicitudes, and desist from complaints of his misfortunes. Though he reign over all the middle-earth, from eastward to westward, from India which is the southeast end of this middle-earth, to the island which we call Thule, which is at the northwest end of this middle-earth, where there is neither night in summer nor day in winter; though he rule even all this, he has not the more power, if he has not power over his mind, and if he does not guard himself against the vices, which we have before spoken about.

"When Wisdom had sung this song, he began again to make a speech, and said; Worthless and very false is the glory of this world! Concerning this a certain poet formerly sung. When he contemned this present life, he said; O, glory of this world! wherefore do erring men call thee, with false voice, glory, when thou art none! — For man more frequently has great renown, and great glory, and great honor, through the opinion of the unwise people, than he has through his deserts. But tell me now, what is more unmeet than this; or why men may not rather be ashamed of themselves than rejoice, when they hear that any one belies them. Though men even rightly praise any one of the good, he ought not the sooner to rejoice immoderately at the people's words. But at this he ought to rejoice, that they speak truth of him. Though he rejoice at this, that they spread his name, it is not the sooner so extensively spread as he persuades himself; for they cannot spread it over all the earth, though they may in some land; for, though it be to one known, yet is it to another unknown. Though he in this land be celebrated, yet is he in another not celebrated. Therefore is the people's favor to be held by every man for nothing; since it comes not to every man according to his deserts, nor indeed remains always to any one. Consider, first, concerning noble birth. If any one

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

boast of it, how vain and how useless is the boast; for every one knows that all men come from one father and from one mother. Or, again, concerning the people's favor, and concerning their applause. I know not why we rejoice at it. Though they whom the vulgar applaud, be illustrious, yet are they more illustrious and more rightly to be applauded who are dignified by virtues. For no man is really the greater or the more praiseworthy, for the excellence of another, or for his virtue, if he himself has it not. Art thou ever the fairer for another man's fairness? A man is full little the better though he have a good father, if he himself is incapable of any thing. Therefore I advise that thou rejoice in other men's good and their nobility; but so far only, that thou ascribe it not to thyself as thy own. Because every man's good, and his nobility, is more in the mind than in the flesh. This only, indeed, I know of good in nobility; that it shames many a man if he is worse than his ancestors were, and he therefore endeavours with all his power to imitate the manners of some one of the best, and his virtues.

"When Wisdom had finished this speech, he began to sing concerning the same, and said; Truly all men had like beginning, for they all came from one father and from one mother; they are all moreover born alike. That is no wonder, because one God is father of all creatures; for he made them all and governs them all. He gives light to the sun, and to the moon, and places all the stars. He has created men on the earth, joined together the soul and the body by his power, *and made all men equally noble in their original nature.* Why do ye, then, without cause, lift yourselves up above other men, on account of your birth? when ye can find none unnoble, but all are equally noble, if ye are willing to remember the creation, and the Creator, and moreover the birth of every one of you. *But true nobility is in the mind, not in the flesh,* as we have before said. But every man, who is altogether subject to vices, forsakes his Maker, and his first origin, and his nobility, and thence becomes degraded till he is unnoble."

pp. 165 – 171.

Other remains of Anglo-Saxon prose exist in the Tale of *Apollonius of Tyre*;* the *Bible-translations* and *Colloquies* of Abbot Ælfric; *Glosses of the Gospels*, at the close of one of which, the conscientious scribe has written, "Aldred,

* *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Story of Apollonius of Tyre, upon which is founded the Play of Pericles, &c. With a literal Translation.* By Benjamin Thorpe. London: 1834. 12mo.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an unworthy and most miserable priest, with the help of God and St. Cuthbert, overglossed it in English;" and, finally, various miscellaneous treatises, among which the most curious is a *Dialogue between Saturn and Solomon.* We cannot refrain from giving an extract from this very original and curious document, which bears upon it some of the darkest thumb-marks of the Middle Ages.*

"*Here is related, how Saturn and Solomon contended about their Wisdom.*

* * * * *

"Tell me, whence was Adam's name created?
I say unto thee, from four stars.
Tell me, what were they called?
I tell thee, Arthox, Dux, Arotholem, Minsymbie.
Tell me, from what matter was Adam, the first man, created?
I tell thee, from eight pounds weight.
Tell me, what were they?
I tell thee, the first was a pound of earth; of that was his flesh made. The second was a pound of fire; thence was his blood red and hot. The third was a pound of wind; thence was breath given him. The fourth was a pound of cloud; thence was given him the unsteadiness of his mind. The fifth was a pound of grease; thence was given him fat and sinews. The sixth was a pound of [*blostnena*]; thence was given him his own varieties. The seventh was a pound of dew; thence had he sweat. The eighth was a pound of salt; thence were his salt tears.
Tell me, of what age was Adam when he was created?
I tell thee, he was thirty winters old.
Tell me, how long was Adam made, in length?
I tell thee, he was six and ninety inches long.
Tell me, how many winters lived Adam in this world?
I tell thee, he lived nine hundred and thirty winters, in toil and misery; and afterwards he went to Hell, and there endured grim torments for five thousand two hundred and eight and twenty winters.

* * * * *

Tell me, what was the name of Noah's wife?
I tell thee, her name was Dalila.
And what was Ham's wife called?
She was called Iaítarecta.
And what was the name of Japhet's wife?

* For the original, see Thorpe, *Analecta*, p. 95.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I tell thee, her name was Catafluvia ; and the other three were called Olla, Ollina, and Ollibana.

* * * * *

Tell me, what plant is best and holiest ?

I tell thee, that plant is the lily, because it betokens Christ.

Tell me, what bird is the holiest ?

I tell thee, the dove is the holiest, for it betokens the Holy Ghost.

Tell me, whence cometh lightning ?

I tell thee, it cometh from wind and from water.

Tell me, what water is the holiest ?

I tell thee, the river Jordan is the holiest, because Christ was baptized therein.

* * * * *

Tell me, what man first spake with a dog ?

I tell thee, Saint Peter.

Tell me, what man first ploughed the earth with a plough ?

I tell thee, it was Ham, the son of Noah.

Tell me, wherefore stones are barren ?

I tell thee, because Abel's blood fell upon a stone, when Cain his brother slew him with the jaw-bone of an ass.

* * * * *

Tell me, what made the sea salt ?

I tell thee, the ten commandments that Moses collected in the old Law, — the commandments of God. He threw the ten commandments into the sea, and he shed tears into the sea, and the sea became salt.

* * * * *

Tell me, what man first built a monastery ?

I tell thee, Elias, and Elisha the prophet, and, after baptism, Paul and Anthony, the first anchorites.

Tell me, what were the streams that watered Paradise ?

I tell thee, they were four. The first was called Pison ; the second Geon; the third Tigris; the fourth Euphrates; that is, milk, and honey, and ale, and wine.

Tell me, why is the sun red at evening ?

I tell thee, because he looks into Hell.

Tell me, why shineth he so red in the morning ?

I tell thee, because he doubteth whether he shall or shall not shine upon this earth, as he is commanded.

Tell me, what four waters feed this earth ?

I tell thee, they are snow, and rain, and hail, and dew.

Tell me, who first made letters ?

I tell thee, Mercury the Giant."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hardly less curious and infinitely more valuable, is a *Colloquy* of Ælfric, composed for the purpose of teaching boys to speak Latin. The Saxon is an interlinear translation of the Latin, on the *Hamiltonian system!** In this *Colloquy* various laborers and handicraftsmen are introduced, — ploughmen, herdsmen, huntsmen, shoemakers, and others; and each has his say, even to the blacksmith, who dwells in his smithy amid iron fire-sparks and the sound of beating sledge-hammers and blowing bellows, (*isenne fyrspearcan, and swegincga beatendra slecgea, and blawendra byliga.*) We translate the close of this *Colloquy*, to show our readers what a poor schoolboy had to suffer in the Middle Ages. They will hardly wonder, that Eregina Scot should have been put to death with penknives by his scholars.

"*Magister.* Well, boy, what hast thou been doing to-day?

"*Discipulus.* A great many things have I been doing. Last night, when I heard the knell, I got out of my bed and went into the church, and sang the matin-song with the friars; after that we sang the hymn of All Saints, and the morning songs of praise; after these Prime, and the seven psalms, with the Litanies and the first mass; then the nine o'clock service, and the mass for the day, and after this we sang the service of mid-day, and ate, and drank, and slept, and got up again, and sang Nones, and now are here before thee, ready to hear what thou hast to say to us.

"*M.* When will you sing Vespers or the Compline?

"*D.* When it is time.

"*M.* Hast thou had a whipping to day?

"*D.* I have not, because I have behaved very warily.

"*M.* And thy playmates?

"*D.* Why dost thou ask me about them? I dare not tell thee our secrets. Each one of them knows whether he has been whipped or not.

"*M.* What dost thou eat every day?

"*D.* I still eat flesh-meat, because I am a child, living under the rod.

---

* Thus it begins;

"We cildra biddath the, eala Lareow, thæt thu tæce us sprécan
D. Nos pueri rogamus te, Magister, ut doceas nos loqui
rihte, fortham úngelærede we syndon, and gewæmmodlice
Latialiter recte, quia idiotæ sumus, et corrupte
we sprécath.
loquimur."

See Thorpe's *Analecta*, where the whole Colloquy is given.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"*M.* What else dost thou eat ?

"*D.* Greens and eggs, fish and cheese, butter and beans, and all clean things, with much thankfulness.

"*M.* Exceedingly voracious art thou; for thou devourest every thing, that is set before thee.

"*D.* Not so *very* voracious either, for I dont eat all kinds of food at one meal.

"*M.* How then ?

"*D.* Sometimes I eat one kind and sometimes another, with soberness, as becomes a monk, and not with voracity; for I am not a glutton.

"*M.* And what dost thou drink ?

"*D.* Beer, when I can get it, and water when I cannot get beer.

"*M.* Dost thou not drink wine ?

"*D.* I am not rich enough to buy wine; and wine is not a drink for boys and ignorant people, but for old men and wise.

"*M.* Where dost thou sleep ?

"*D.* In the dormitory, with the friars.

"*M.* Who wakes thee for matins ?

"*D.* Sometimes I hear the knell and get up; sometimes my master wakes me sternly with a rod.

"*M.* O, ye good children, and winsome learners ! (*ge gode cildra, and wynsume leorneras.*) Your teacher admonishes you to follow godly lore, and to behave yourselves decently everywhere. Go obediently, when you hear the chapel bell, enter into the chapel, and bow suppliantly at the holy altars, and stand submissive, and sing with one accord, and pray for your sins, and then depart to the cloister or the school-room without levity."

We think this picture of a monk-ling at his catechism is capital. Poor boy ! who ate eggs and spinnage with much thankfulness, and sang penitential psalms at midnight with the friars ! How stoutly he repels the charge of being voracious over-much ! how cunningly insinuates, that he prefers beer to cold water ! And then the wise schoolmaster, how magisterially he says, "Well, boy, what hast thou been doing to-day ?" and "hast thou had a whipping to-day ?" and then slips in that joke, slyly and with due decorum ; "Exceedingly voracious art thou ; for thou devourest every thing that is set before thee !" and so dismisses the scare-crow monk, telling him to be a good boy, and keep his hands out of his pockets, and modestly look straight before him. We commend the picture to Cruikshank.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here we close our sketch of Anglo-Saxon Literature, with the hope, that what we have written may "stir up riper wits than ours to the perfection of this rough-hewn work."

Since the first sheets of this article went to press, we have received, through the kindness of a friend, the second edition of Mr. Kemble's *Beowulf*, with his English Translation, Glossary, and Notes, forming a second volume. (London. 1837.) The translation is strong and faithful. "I was bound," he says, "to give word for word the original, in all its roughness. I might have made it smoother, but I purposely avoided doing so; because, had the Saxon poet thought as we think, and expressed his thoughts as we express our thoughts, I might have spared myself the trouble of editing and translating his poem."

Altogether, the work is one of great learning and labor, and places Mr. Kemble in the very highest rank of Saxon scholars. We recommend it to all readers of Saxon poetry in this country. They will find it of inestimable value to them in their studies.

ART. V. — *History of the Indian Tribes of North America, with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs. Embellished with One Hundred and Twenty Portraits, from the Indian Gallery in the Department of State at Washington.* By THOMAS L. Mc KENNEY, late of the Indian Department at Washington; and JAMES HALL, of Cincinnati. Vol. I. Philadelphia; published by Edward C. Biddle.

FOR many years it has been the custom of the Indians, residing within the territories of the United States, to send delegates to Washington for the purpose of making treaties respecting their lands, and transacting other affairs, in which they and the United States are mutually concerned. This custom has been encouraged by the government, as affording a favorable opportunity of communicating to the Indians just ideas of the condition, resources, and power of their civilized

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

neighbours, which, on account of their remote situation and ignorance of letters, they can learn only from actual observation. The expenses of these embassies have generally been borne by the government; and every facility has been rendered to the Indians, which could contribute to enlarge their knowledge and promote their comfort during their journeys through the country.

Among those, who have thus visited Washington and our principal cities within the last twenty years, have been the most renowned chiefs and warriors, and other personages of distinction, from nearly all the great tribes inhabiting the western and southern borders of the United States. Proud of their national manners, and disdaining to accommodate themselves to new and strange modes, farther than the necessity of circumstances required, they have generally appeared in their native costume, and adhered to the same habits of painting their faces and decorating their persons, which they practise at home; thus exhibiting not only the original features peculiar to their race, but all the outward characteristics of their savage state.

As early as 1824 the practice was begun, of taking portraits of the principal Indians, who came to the seat of government, and of depositing them with the War Department. The project was approved and aided by the Executive, and, under the active management of Colonel McKenney, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the number rapidly increased, till a very interesting gallery was formed. They were chiefly painted by Mr. King, an artist of high repute in this branch of his profession, who, by his long residence in Washington, and frequent opportunities of studying the subjects of his pencil, has been remarkably successful in transferring to his canvas the strong lineaments of the Indian countenance.

Having this rare and curious collection before him, Colonel McKenney conceived the plan of making it more valuable to the world by publishing a series of engraved portraits, exactly copied and colored from these paintings, and accompanied by biographical sketches and historical facts. This enterprise, the first of the kind that has been undertaken in this country, and indeed in any country on so comprehensive a scale, and with such a completeness of design, he has carried forward with a perseverance and success, that justly de-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mand the admiration and praise of every one, who knows the difficulty of such a task, and properly estimates its importance. The North American Indians are a strongly marked race of men, constituting a distinct class, and maintaining their identity as such, and their peculiarities in every vicissitude of existence, which neither circumstances nor time have conquered. Wasted by wars, consumed by want, driven by the iron arm of civilization from his native soil, and the places endeared to him by hallowed associations, the Indian is the same that he was when the white man first invaded his forests; unchanged and unchangeable in his nature, his habits, his physical constitution, and distinctive traits of intellect. If he has yielded too easily to the vices of his unwelcome neighbours, yet even these have not subdued his indomitable spirit, nor weakened his sense of dignity as a man, nor worn off the deep traces of his original character.

Colonel McKenney's design, therefore, of collecting and presenting to the world authentic memorials of this race, in a form to give them perpetuity, while the race itself is fast dwindling away, is as praiseworthy as it is arduous and difficult in the execution. And, fortunately, no person living is better qualified for this task, both from the opportunities he has had of personal observation and inquiry, and from the genuine enthusiasm with which he has overcome, and continues to overcome, the many obstacles that obstruct his progress. In his official capacity, besides his frequent intercourse with the chiefs and warriors, who have visited the seat of government from time to time, he has travelled much among the Indians, holding treaties at their council fires, discussing with them their political relations with the United States and with each other, and examining minutely into their social condition and manner of life; thus accumulating a rich store of facts, which he is enabled to use to the greatest advantage in illustrating this work.* With each portrait is connected a biographical sketch of the individual, whom it is intended to represent, drawn from original materials, and interspersed with anecdotes and narrations, many of which

* In the year 1826, Colonel McKenney made a tour to the Upper Lakes, of which he published an account, in a volume entitled, "Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of Incidents connected with the Treaty of Fond du Lac." A notice of this volume may be found in the North American Review, Vol. XXV. pp. 334 et seqq.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are spirited and strikingly graphic. Eight numbers, constituting the first volume, have already been published.

Some of the first numbers of the work, in addition to the biographical sketches, contain a historical account of the various tribes of Indians within the borders of the United States, and particularly of those situate to the eastward of the Mississippi River. This essay forms a rare and valuable contribution to Indian history. It describes the situation and extent of the territories, which the tribes respectively inhabit, their population, their affinities with each other, their forms of government, and their general and local customs, habits, and peculiarities. It is also valuable and curious, as affording an instructive comparison with what has been written by the early travellers, and showing how completely the Indians have preserved all their original features of character, modes of existence, and habits of thought and action.

Colonel McKenney has also an accomplished coadjutor in Judge Hall, of Cincinnati, who is associated with him in the literary part of the enterprise. Judge Hall's well known grace and liveliness of style, and his knowledge of events in the West, and of the Indian character as unfolded in the wars of recent times, besides the advantage he derives from his proximity to the scenes he describes, enable him to make contributions, which will adorn and give additional value to the work.

These biographies have an interest beyond the simple narratives. They give us general views of Indian life and Indian character, of no little importance. We see to what a point the aboriginal intellect has advanced, and what have been apparently the stern boundaries fixed by nature to its progress. The narrow circle of Indian ideas has remained essentially the same since their first intercourse with Europeans. The principle of advancement, which has been developed in the earliest periods of all nations, who have carried forward the arts of civilization, has never shown itself among the children of the American forests. There have been of course individual exceptions to this remark; but they are much fewer than we should at first sight imagine. There seems to be an inherent antipathy to the forms of civilized life among them. The progress which the Cherokees are supposed to have made recently cannot as yet be considered as a departure from the general course of Indian affairs. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

labors of missionaries, — of such men as Eliot and Brainerd, — have caused a temporary change, and to a limited extent, in the aspect of Indian life. But where are now the villages they formed, the churches they gathered, the schools they opened for the red men? And what permanent consequences have followed the toils and sufferings of the thousand other devoted men, who have spent lives and fortunes in the same holy cause? They have refused to blend themselves with their conquerors, as if there had been some natural repugnance between the white man's and the red man's blood. They have rejected the habits of civilized life, though, in some individual cases, they have proved themselves capable of adopting them. It seems as if they were born to be hunters, and hunters they were determined to die. The Christian religion has made a temporary progress among some of the tribes, but time has always removed the last traces of it from the savage mind; as if the traditions of the Great Spirit, and the hunting-grounds of the departed warriors, had their origin in the natural feelings of the savage heart, and could never be replaced by a purer and sublimer faith. All other people, who have been overrun by a foreign race, have submitted to the common law of conquest, and intermingled with the conquering tribe; but the Indian has maintained his surly independence, looking upon the allurements of civilization with scorn, the religion of the whites with abhorrence, and his own inevitable disasters with a mournful, but unbending, haughtiness.

Poets and novelists have given the rein to their imagination, in describing the poetical life, and picturesque eloquence, of the Indians. The representations they have given are utterly false. There is nothing pleasing to the imagination in the dirty and smoky cabin of the Indian chief; there is nothing romantic in his custom of sleeping away the days of leisure from the perils of war or the adventures of the chase; there is not a particle of chivalry in the contempt with which he regards his squaw, and the unmanly cruelty by which he binds upon her burdens grievous to be borne. His whole life is surrounded by the dismal accompaniments of poverty, sensuality, ignorance, and vice. In the arts, he has never learned to do more than supply his coarsest animal wants. His taste for ornaments cannot well be more despicable. He rings his nose, as farmers ring their pigs, to keep them out of mischief; he daubs his body over with hideous colors,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which give him the appearance of a devil; he puts horns upon his head, or sticks it all over with gaudy feathers; and then he is a finished specimen of the Indian fine gentleman. In his amusements, his taste is equally refined with his taste in dress. His war dances and funeral dances are mere contortions, exhibiting every form of ungraceful bodily action; and these are accompanied by a species of music consisting of a rude movement in time, and certain unmeaning howls, compared with which, the barking of wolves and the growling of bears are melody itself. His warfare is a compound of cruelty and cowardice. His point of honor is, to entrap his enemy unawares, and with no danger to himself; his glory, on returning to his native village, he places in exhibiting the greatest possible number of scalps, torn bleeding from the heads of his murdered victims. His treatment of a captive enemy, is horrible beyond description. His highest enjoyment consists in taunting him with insults and reproaches in the midst of the fiercest death-agonies, which his diabolical skill enables him to invent. His sagacity is bounded to the discovery of a trail or track; his wisdom consists in a few wise saws handed down from his ancestors, and treasured up by the old women of the village. When in council, he dresses these scanty ideas with a touch or two of forest rhetoric, and that is his eloquence, and his statesmanship. How can it be any thing more? To what circle of experience, to what treasuries of knowledge, can he resort for the enlargement of his mind and the cultivation of eloquence? What occasion has his simple life for any thing more copious in thought, and more polished in language? His religion is founded upon the simple conception of a Supreme Being, and that is always sublime; but what attributes belong to this conception of the Supreme Being, can easily be inferred from the Indian's customs and his conduct. How unworthy of a God, his notions of him are, it is unnecessary to illustrate for it is known to all. His views of another life are distinct enough, but utterly insufficient to produce any exalting tendency in his conduct and character in this. They are low, gross, sensual. They have scarcely a glimmering of the light of imagination to redeem them from the most deplorable darkness.

We have said, the circle of Indian knowledge is extremely narrow and confined, and the materials of his eloquence scanty. Still, he sometimes gives utterance to a brilliant thought, which would be applauded, coming from a cultivated

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mind. Living in the midst of primeval forests, gazing upon the stars of heaven, witnessing the succession and touching phenomena of the passing seasons, his mind is sometimes filled with emotions of the beautiful and sublime, to which he gives utterance in bold and figurative language. A sentiment imbued with natural feeling, an image borrowed from external objects, a comparison snatched from the tree, the bird, the mountain, the waterfall, occasionally impart to his discourse the air of poetry, and fill the mind of the hearer with delight. But the Indian makes no sustained efforts. His thoughts come out in single flashes; his eloquence is concentrated in a single point. Logic, properly speaking, he has none. When he reasons, he reasons from analogy; his arguments are tropes; his conclusions are metaphors in disguise. The summit of his philosophy is, to bear tortures unmoved. When among the monuments of civilization, his motto is, or would be, *Nil admirari*. Gazing, with immense multitudes, upon the balloon that ascended from the Battery in New York, he merely said, the man was a fool for his pains. In short, he looks with stupid insensibility upon all the marvels of art to which civilization has given birth. Some Indians have been educated by the whites, not many; and what has been the consequence? In nearly all instances, they have gone back to their savage customs, and utterly renounced the strange civilization thrust upon them. Many Indian names are mentioned, to be sure, in the annals of reclaimed barbarism; but most, if not all, of them belong to the half-breeds, to whom, we fancy, the greater part of Indian civilization has been and will be confined. What might have been done, had our treatment of them been such, as to recommend civilization and Christianity to their good-will, it is now too late to say. We have gone on wrong principles from the beginning. We have bought the Indian lands for a song, and made treaties, which we have constantly broken. We have regarded them as independent nations, and yet have taken them under our pupilage. We suffer them to remain under solemn guaranties, within our State territories, a separate race, with habits, manners, principles, utterly averse from our own; and, when the teeming population of the borders overruns their territories, we insist upon buying out their lands and driving them away. The whole proceeding of treaty-making with Indian tribes, turns out to be a solemn farce. If a white man kill an Indian, do we surrender him, on being demanded,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to be dealt with according to Indian principles of justice? If an Indian kill a white man, do we not demand his surrender, and persevere until we obtain it? In point of fact, the amount of the whole matter is simply this. We regard the Indians as independent nations, just far enough to subserve our own interests. We are willing to treat with them for their lands, and hold them to their concessions; so far they are independent nations. But when we want more, we take another position; and, as they are not independent nations, and have no standing armies, and cannot enforce their rights and compel us to maintain our own stipulations, we proceed to wrong them, by force or fraud, into other treaties, with similar concessions, to be observed with a similar good faith. We get a few half-breeds on our side, we bribe a few recreant chiefs to make their mark on the parchment, and thus we have another treaty of concession to our avarice, solemnly guarantied by an independent Indian nation, with stipulations on our part, sanctioned by pledged national faith! What trouble we are in at the South! We are marching our troops down upon the poor Cherokees, and commissioning our veteran generals to force that independent nation to quit the homes of their childhood, and the graves of their fathers, for unknown lands far off in the West. And we are doing it, by way of carrying into effect a treaty extorted by the most infamous means; a treaty against which the Cherokee nation rise up almost in a mass, and will probably carry their resistance to bloodshed. But our regard to the faith of treaties is so delicate, that we persist in driving away, at the point of the bayonet, the plundered inheritors of the soil, careless of all the ties we break, all the lives we shorten, all the scenes of woe we cause.

In fact, we started wrong at the outset, and we have probably gone wrong too far to retrace our steps. We ought to have offered the Indians all the rights of citizenship, on condition of submitting to our laws, and supporting our institutions; and, if they refused, we might, with a clearer conscience, have let civilization take its course. The savage tribes, who held this continent by an uncertain occupancy, roaming over its vast regions as hunters, or in deadly warfare with each other, had no right, in the nature of things, to shut this half of the world against the introduction of civilized life. To say, that they had such a right, would involve the monstrous conclusion,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that this immense continent might be for ever closed, in obedience to principles sanctioned by the Providence of God, against intellectual culture and pure religion; that it might and ought to be for ever filled with the most revolting barbarism, the most heathenish ignorance, the most degrading superstition. Such a conclusion, it is needless to say, is against the most manifest designs of Providence. But, even if this position were supported by principles of abstract right, it could not be maintained in point of fact. Men will not be controlled by unintelligible refinements and wire-drawn theories. The moment the new world was discovered, the doom of the savage races who inhabited it was sealed; they must either conform to the institutions of the Europeans, or disappear from the face of the earth. The ardent and uneasy spirits of the old world, driven by religious zeal or discontent at home, could have been restrained from throwing themselves upon the American shore, by no cobweb trammels of speculating civilians. Barbarism and civilization were set up, face to face, and one or the other must fall in the encounter. The history of two hundred years is a perpetual commentary upon this text.

But our purpose was not to discuss the general subject of our Indian relations, so much as to bring together a few traits and anecdotes which these lives supply. We shall take them as we find them, without much regard to order or arrangement, with the single remark, that they will illustrate what we have just said about the peculiarities of the Indian character and intellect. The editor is entitled to our warmest commendation for the abundant matter he has placed within our reach, to aid us in forming a just estimate of the Indian tribes. The series of Portraits is very properly introduced, by an admirable likeness of Red Jacket, the celebrated Seneca war-chief. He was a man of remarkable abilities, measuring him by Indian standards. His policy, — a policy sustained by uncommon perseverance and eloquence, — was opposed to civilization in every form. He "hated the missionaries and cold water," and remained a dogged Indian to the last, adopting from the whites nothing but a love of strong drink. He fancied, that the Indians might still save themselves by adhering sternly to their own languages, religion, and habits; with all his boasted sagacity, he had not comprehension enough to see, that, in the battle of the Indian and the civilized man, the Indian must suffer a total rout,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and that the only way of saving himself was, to yield the point, and rival the invaders in their own arts. When it was proposed in council to establish a mission among his people, he replied, with no little shrewdness, "Your talk is fair and good. But I propose this; Go, try your hand in the town of Buffalo, for one year. They need missionaries, if you can do what you say. If in that time you shall have done them any good, and made them any better, then we will let you come among our people." On the differences of Indians and whites, he remarked, upon another occasion, that

"He had no doubt that Christianity was good for white people, but that the red men were of a different race, and required a different religion. He believed that Jesus Christ was a good man, and that the whites should all be sent to hell for killing him; but the red men, having no hand in his death, were clear of that crime. The Saviour was not sent to them, the atonement not made for them, nor the Bible given to them, and, therefore, the Christian religion was not intended for them. If the Great Spirit had intended they should be Christians, he would have made his revelation to them as well as to the whites; and, not having made it, it was clearly his will that they should continue in the faith of their fathers." — No. I. p. 11.

This is a pretty fair specimen of Indian logic; the whole force of it depends upon a sophism, which a common schoolboy would be at no loss to refute.

One of the most interesting portraits in the whole collection, is that of Mohongo and her child. The face of the mother is marked by a regular, placid, and thoughtful beauty, far from common in aboriginal physiognomy; and both figures remind one of the Madonna and Child, — the favorite subject of the Italian artists. This woman was one of a party of seven, decoyed from their homes by a crafty Frenchman, who carried them to Europe, by way of speculation. It is a lucky circumstance, that this shrewd trick was not played by a Yankee. If it had been, we should never have heard the last of it. They visited Holland, Germany, and other parts of the continent; but, on their arrival at the capital of France, their deceiver was detected by his creditors; and the Indians found in Lafayette a kind friend, who immediately took measures to restore them to the United States. Speaking of the superior intelligence displayed in this interesting countenance, the writer says,

"Mohongo travelled in company with her husband. Con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stantly in his society, sharing with him the perils, the vicissitudes, and the emotions incident to the novel scenes into which they were thrown, and released from the drudgery of menial occupation, she must have risen to something like the station of an equal. Perhaps, when circumstances of embarrassment, or perplexing objects of curiosity, were presented, the superior tact of the female mind became apparent, and her companion learned to place a higher estimation upon her character than is usually awarded by the Indian to the weaker sex. Escaped from servile labor, she had leisure to think. New objects were continually placed before her eyes; admiration and curiosity were often awakened in her mind; its latent faculties were excited, and that beautiful system of association, which forms the train of rational thought, became connected and developed. Mohongo was no longer the drudge of a savage hunter, but his friend." — No. I. p. 23.

In the same number with our Indian Madonna, are the portrait and life of Push-ma-ta-ha, the famous Choctaw warrior. The regimentals of an American general on this red officer, form a strange antithesis to all our notions of Indian costume. He made himself famous both in savage and civilized warfare, — pretty much the same thing, — and raised himself, from a humble station, to a distinguished rank. Among other peculiarities, he was an advocate of polygamy. To the question, whether he did not think the custom wrong, he replied;

"No. Is it not right that every woman should be married? — and how can that be, when there are more women than men, unless some men marry more than one? When our great father, the President, caused the Indians to be counted last year, it was found that the women were most numerous; and if one man could have but one wife, some woman would have no husband." — No. I. p. 33.

This argument was perfectly satisfactory to Push-ma-ta-ha. Being a reasonable man, however, he confined himself, with exemplary fidelity, to two wives. An unusual number of his speeches are preserved; but the most striking one of all, is that addressed just before his death, in Washington, to his Indian friends.

"I shall die, but you will return to our brethren. As you go along the paths, you will see the flowers and hear the birds sing; but Pushmataha will see them and hear them no more. When you shall come to your home, they will ask you, 'Where is Pushmataha?' and you will say to them, 'He is no more.'

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They will hear the tidings, like the fall of a mighty oak in the stillness of the woods." — No. I. p. 34.

This simile is among the noblest ever conceived by orator or poet; at the same time, it could have come only from a son of the forest.

One of the most remarkable Indians, that we have any knowledge of, was Tecumthé, of whom an interesting account is given in connexion with his brother, the Prophet. This chieftain appears to have shown his superiority at a very early period of life, except on one occasion, when, being a youth of fifteen, he ran away from the enemy in battle, and brought a temporary cloud over his good name. But this did not long continue. His subsequent brilliant exploits restored him to an ascendency almost unrivalled in Indian annals. About the year 1806, he began his operations for expelling the whites from the valley of the Mississippi. He proposed a general union of all the tribes for this purpose, travelled among them with unwearied perseverance, and urged them to lay aside their petty feuds, and wage a general warfare against the common enemy. His labors in this cause, the partial success that attended them, and his final overthrow, are matters of history.

Tecumthé maintained a very plausible theory of Indian rights, and argued stoutly against the validity of treaties, ceding lands to the whites. It was in substance, that, as the Great Spirit had given them to all the Indians for hunting-grounds, — and as each tribe had a right to certain tracts of country while they occupied them and no longer, so that one might take possession when another moved away, — no tribe had a right to alienate that of which they had only a temporary possession; and, consequently, treaties made without the consent of all the tribes were void. These propositions he maintained with no little ingenuity and power. On one occasion, ridiculing the idea of selling a country, he exclaimed, "Sell a country! why not sell the air, the clouds, and the great sea, as well as the earth? Did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children?"

The following anecdote is told of Waa-pa-shaw, a Sioux chief. A quarrel took place between the Winnebago Indians and the inhabitants of a little village at Prairie du Chien, during the last war. The villagers immediately claimed the interposition of this chief, on account of his in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fluence, not only over his own tribe, but among his neighbours. He responded to the request, and went immediately to the village, with but one attendant. Seeing him approach without his customary train of warriors, the villagers gave up all for lost. In reply to their expressions of alarm, he said nothing, but sent a message by his attendant, requiring the Winnebagos to meet him at an appointed time and place that day. The Winnebagos obeyed, and Waapashaw took his place among them. After a few minutes silence, he arose, assumed an attitude of great dignity, and gazed upon the chiefs with a threatening look. He plucked a hair from his head, held it up before them, and said, "Winnebagos! do you see this hair? Look at it. You threaten to massacre the white people at the Prairie. They are your friends and mine. You wish to drink their blood. Is that your purpose? Dare to lay a finger upon one of them, and I will blow you from the face of the earth, as I now blow this hair with my breath, where none can find it." Having uttered this bold defiance, he turned upon his heel and left the council, without waiting for a reply. Nothing more was heard of Winnebago hostilities.

Sequoyah, the inventor of the Cherokee Alphabet, is a most interesting personage, but would be still more so, were he a full-blooded Indian. He is the son of a white man and a half-breed woman, and this circumstance essentially detracts from the wonderful character of his discoveries in arts and letters. Still, his story is a pleasant one. Instead of joining the rude sports of Indian boys, while a child, he took great delight in exercising his ingenuity by various mechanical labors. He also assisted in the management of his mother's property, consisting of a farm, and cattle, and horses. In his intercourse with the whites, he became aware that they possessed an art, by which a name, impressed upon a hard substance, might be understood at a glance, by any one acquainted with the art. He requested an educated half-blood, named Charles Hicks, to write his name; which being done, he made a die, containing a fac-simile of the word, which he stamped upon all the articles fabricated by his mechanical ingenuity. From this he proceeded to the art of drawing, in which he made rapid progress, before he had an opportunity of seeing a picture or engraving. These accomplishments made the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

young man very popular among his associates, and particularly among the red ladies ; but it was long before incessant adulation produced any evil effect upon his character. At length, however, he was prevailed upon to join his companions, and share in the carouse, which had been supplied by his own industry. But he soon wearied of an idle and dissipated life, suddenly resolved to give up drinking, and learned the trade of a blacksmith by his own unaided efforts. In the year 1820, while on a visit to some friends in a Cherokee village, he listened to a conversation on the art of writing, which seems always to have been the subject of great curiosity among the Indians. Sequoyah remarked, that he did not regard the art as so very extraordinary, and believed he could invent a plan by which the red man might do the same thing. The company were incredulous ; but the matter had long been the subject of his reflections, and he had come to the conclusion, that letters represented words or ideas, and being always uniform, would always convey the same meaning. His first plan was to invent signs for words ; but upon trial he was speedily satisfied, that this would be too cumbrous and laborious, and soon conceived the plan of an alphabet, which should represent sounds, each character standing for a syllable. He persevered in carrying out this invention, and attained his object by forming eighty-six characters.

While thus employed, he incurred the ridicule of his neighbours, and was entreated to desist by his friends. The invention, however, was completely successful, and the Cherokee dialect is now a written language ; a result entirely due to the extraordinary genius of Sequoyah. After teaching many to read and write, he left the Cherokee nation in 1822, on a visit to Arkansas, and introduced the art among the Cherokees who had emigrated to that country ; and, after his return home, a correspondence was opened, in the Cherokee language, between the two branches of the nation. In the autumn of 1823, the general council bestowed on him a silver medal in honor of his genius, and as an expression of gratitude for his eminent public services. This extraordinary man is now with his countrymen west of the Mississippi. Whether he continues to cultivate aboriginal literature, we have not heard. It is to be hoped, the first attempts at Indian epistolary writing, in an Indian language with Indian

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

characters, will not be lost. They would be objects of great curiosity to philologists.

It would be easy to go on collecting interesting anecdotes and traits from these well executed volumes, but perhaps we have already given enough to excite the attention of our readers to the work itself. The portraits are a noble monument of skill and art, and a most becoming tribute to the memory of the departing tribes. Their lineaments ought to be thus preserved from oblivion, so that, if the time should come, when the red men are only known by tradition and history, their successors may be able to form a lively idea of the races, with whom the first settlers had to contend for the soil of America.

In closing our remarks, we cannot refrain from expressing our unfeigned thanks, as Americans, to the authors and conductors of this great enterprise ; second only to that of Audubon. It is a work in every respect honorable to the nation. As both the design, and the execution thus far, have merited the applause of the public, so we heartily wish it success to the end. We are glad to learn, moreover, that its circulation is not confined to one hemisphere, and that it is already attracting the attention of the curious and the enlightened in various parts of Europe. Under the energetic management of Mr. James M. Campbell, the publisher in England, a large edition is sold in that country. As a proof of the patronage it receives, it is enough to state, that the entire work, the plates, coloring, and letter-press, are executed anew in London for the British market, and that there is encouragement for an extensive sale on the continent.

ART. VI. — *National Standard of Costumes. A Lecture on the Changes of Fashion, delivered before the Portsmouth Lyceum*, by CHARLES W. BREWSTER. Portsmouth. 1837. 8vo. pp. 15.

THE subject of costumes is curious and interesting. Dress is an object of universal attention. It occupies no small portion of our time and thoughts ; it forms a distinct and important trade, or, we should be more inclined to call it, profes-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion ; it constitutes a very large branch of commerce. We should be somewhat at a loss to determine whether civilized or barbarous nations are most occupied by the cares of the toilet. Certainly a full-dressed savage makes a wonderful display of art. His painted countenance and head, the nicely adjusted colors, the tortured hair, the elaborate ornaments, the pouch and moccasin skilfully embroidered with variegated porcupine's quills, the cloak of gorgeous feathers or cloth of bark, indicate plainly, that his attention has been directed with no little patience and contrivance to this all-important object. And we doubt not, that as much care is expended upon his toilet, as the votary of civilized fashion gives to his.

We should be almost afraid to compute how large a portion of the time among civilized people is occupied, either in dressing, or in thinking about dress. Much less, probably, is so used in this country, than in others, where a stricter etiquette prevails ; but we still think we are within bounds in supposing, that one third of the waking hours of the community, including what is employed in making and repairing, is devoted to the subject of dress.

Half-civilized nations, who show more sense in their costumes than any others barbarous or refined, must, we imagine, be somewhat at a loss to account for their neighbours' bestowing so much attention upon a subject, which for them is entirely settled. Where a man, or still more a woman, knows what colors and what forms of dress she is to use, being the same precisely that her ancestors have worn for centuries, and where the idea of fashion never dawned, there can be but little time wasted upon dress. We only wonder, what the fair inhabitants of such a country can find to supply the place of that deep interest, which the subject affords to the happier heirs of civilization. "What a monstrous idea!" we fancy some of our fair readers to exclaim ; "a country where there is no such thing as fashion ! where one must dress like one's grandmother ; where there is no difference between morning and evening dresses ; where there are no such things as walking dresses and carriage dresses, no distinctions of bonnets, and no change of forms ! What becomes of the spirit of a woman in such a stupid country ?"

What, then, are the causes of these differences in different countries ? Why do the Persians at this day, dress as the Persians did in the days of Cyrus the Great, while the forms

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of English and French dresses have been constantly changing since the time of the Roman conquests? Is there a deep philosophy of dress to account for this? Is there any theory to explain why civilization makes changes in costume, or to account for each successive change?

These questions we do not pretend to answer. We will give our readers a slight sketch of some of the different remarkable costumes of ancient and modern times, and the various changes which have been made with the advance of civilization. Perhaps they may deduce some theory, to suit themselves, from the facts we shall present them.

An ingenious observer might possibly discover in the costumes of different nations, a harmony with the prevailing tastes and the general character of the people. There is certainly no way in which taste, whatever it is, displays itself more than in dress; and, as far as nationality of costume exists, there might perhaps be found a certain correspondence or identity in the taste in dress and in the fine arts. Thus the Egyptian costume would possess a character very different from that of Greece or Rome. The dress of one age would differ in style from that of another in the same country. Each would be marked by the peculiar taste and the prevailing spirit of the time. The costume of a cavalier in the thirteenth or fourteenth century would be as different from that of a Roman in the days of Cicero, as a Gothic church is from a classic temple; and each costume, in point of taste, might be marked with the same spirit, that inspired the architecture of the different periods.

Nothing can be more ungraceful than the costume of the Egyptians, as it is represented in their sculpture. In the Capitol at Rome, there is a collection of very ancient Egyptian statues. The dress consists of a cloth or mantle, wrapped closely round the body, so as to show the whole outline of the form, and descending in some to the knees, in others to the feet; and bound so tight, as to fetter the limbs. The arms are left bare; on the head is a small cap, shaped in some like a coronet, from each side of which descends a sort of wing or pendant, making the neck appear of the same breadth as the shoulders; the whole costume, giving the living man, as near as possible, the look of a mummy. A representation of a priest, in Denon's work on Egypt, also shows very nearly the same costume. The cap and its gro-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tesque wings are precisely like those in the statues ; and the dress consists of a tunic descending not quite to the knees, and fitting close to the body. Now there certainly is some resemblance in the stiff, graceless, and square form of this costume, to the equally stiff, graceless, and square architecture of Egypt. That people were certainly distinguished by bad taste, but there was a harmony in its badness ; their colossal structures and their gigantic statues, their sphinxes and their other monsters, all are marked with the same monstrous taste. There is a resemblance to these in the costume. We do not mean, that there is an imitation. The caps are not made in the shape of a pyramid or a sphinx, nor the vest in the form of any other structure. But there is in the costume a certain taste, which is obviously the same that gave birth to the architecture. It is essentially Egyptian, as strongly marked as the pyramid or obelisk, and could not be mistaken.

The Asiatic dress is entirely different. The costume of the Parthians was a long flowing tunic or gown, reaching nearly to the ancles, and gathered round the waist with a girdle. The sleeves, which reach to the wrists, were made tight, so as to show the form of the arm ; the trowsers were loose and gathered at the ancle ; and the cap was low, and shaped somewhat like a coronet. This dress, as represented in ancient paintings, resembles almost exactly the costume of the Persians at the present day. The dress of the Persian ambassador, whom we met in Paris a few years since, might have been thought a copy from the antique, so closely did it correspond to the representation of the ancient Parthian. The Parthian sovereigns are represented on the coins, sometimes bareheaded, with long bushy hair and profuse beards very elaborately curled, sometimes wearing a cap in the form of a truncated cone, inverted. The Medes and Persians generally wore a conical cap, sometimes truncated and much ornamented. The inhabitants of the countries bordering on the Black Sea and of the Archipelago, used the Phrygian cap, with the top bent forward, and long flaps descending to the shoulders.

We have particularly mentioned these various head-dresses, to show that all antiquity boasted nothing in the way of head-gear so absurd as the hats of the present day. Of all the articles of dress which the present age abounds in, there is none which we contemplate or wear with so little compla-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cency or patience as a hat. For the fashion of other parts of dress, we can see some reason; but we are at a loss to discover the philosophy of this. It can hardly be called a covering for the head, as it only rests on the top, never covering the ears. The tall cylinder of the crown rises up several inches above the head, leaving a large space, which, for all we can discover, is perfectly useless. Then the hat must bind the forehead closely; otherwise a breath of wind will take it off. In all truth, we do believe, that one great reason why Americans stoop so much, is, that, living in a country where high winds prevail, they are obliged to walk stooping half the time, to prevent the wind's blowing their hats off. The most sensible head-gear which is worn in these days, is the cap which sailors call a *southwester*; fitting close to the head, and having a sort of cape which descends over the shoulders. But any kind of cap is better than a hat, which, we doubt not, is the invention of some unhappy wretch whose fair proportions nature had curtailed; and who endeavoured to make up for his deficiencies by a lofty head-dress. Fashion, however, dictates, that hats shall be genteel, and caps otherwise; and who shall dare to dispute her decree?

The warlike dress of the Amazons, if we may believe the paintings upon antique vases, was very tasteful. It consisted of a tunic reaching not quite to the knee, and confined at the waist with a girdle. It came up round the throat and fitted close to the form above the waist. The sleeves were made tight and reached to the wrists. Over this tunic was worn a short cloak or mantle not longer than the tunic, fastened round the neck and flowing from thence. This garment resembles very much the short Spanish cloak worn by cavaliers in the sixteenth century. Finally, these ladies, with extreme propriety, and in keeping with their character, wore pantaloons, which might be the envy of the greatest dandy in Broadway or Chesnut Street. They were made to fit close, showing the form of the leg completely; and, in addition to their elegance, must have been extremely convenient. With the war dress, the Amazons wore a helmet, sometimes terminating in the beak of a griffin, the jagged crest of the animal forming the summit or back of the helmet. In peace these ladies condescended to put on the ordinary female costume.

In general, the Asiatic costume forms a remarkable con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trast to that of Egypt; the one, loose, flowing, and graceful; the other, so contrived as to fit close to the form, and yet to make it appear more awkward, — without a single fold, square, dead-like. There is something very grand and imposing in loose and ample robes. We attach the idea of princely magnificence to them, and man seems to acquire double grandeur when thus arrayed. The fact is, that this mortal must put on a dress in order to look respectably. One tailor is not enough to make a man. He is not completely made till he has had nine of them at work upon him.

We come now to the classic costume, which we shall find to be completely in keeping with the taste displayed by the Greeks and Romans in other things. The first thing we notice with regard to the Greeks, is, the great care bestowed upon the arrangement of the hair. Writers on costumes distinguish the different ages, by the changes in the manner of arranging the hair. The earliest style was remarkable for primness, the hair being divided into symmetrical curls much in the corkscrew form; and the dress was made to correspond with this by plaiting it into straight and stiff folds. The hair was dressed in the same way for men as for women. After a little time, it became the fashion to gather all the hair hanging down the back, by means of a riband, into a single bunch, leaving only two or three long slender ringlets hanging in front of the ears. At a later period, this bunch of hair hanging down behind, was gathered up and doubled into a club, while the side locks were allowed to descend as low as the breast. In the fourth era of Grecian barbarism, these long ringlets gradually shrunk away to a number of short curls about the ears, leaving the neck quite free. The hair and beard were arranged with extreme care, and were made to resemble the cells of a beehive, or a network of wire, the Greeks being very skilful in the use of the hot tongs.

The dress of Greek females was a tunic or gown, reaching to the feet, and fitting round the neck, with sleeves reaching to the elbows. Over this, was a second garment, which was intended only as an additional protection to the upper part of the person. It was a square piece of stuff, folded double, so as to show only half of the original width, and was worn with the doubled part upwards, so as to display the embroidered edge more fully, hanging down. This garment was suspended round the back and chest, passing under both arms. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

centre was brought directly under the left arm, so that the ends met and hung down under the right; and it was kept in place by two clasps or buttons which fastened together the front and back part over the shoulders. The outer garment was called the *peplum*, and was used more for occasions of ceremony than for ordinary convenience, as it was very long and ample, and, from the manner of putting it on, must have been inconvenient to the wearer. It was sometimes wound double round the body, first under the arms, and then over the shoulders, and was not fastened by any clasps or buttons, but was kept on by the intricacy of the folds. The *peplum*, and the *pallium* or men's outer garment, gave occasion to a great display of taste in the manner of wearing, as the various combinations seem to be almost endless. Every variety which human ingenuity or fancy could devise in the manner of wearing this part of the dress, may be seen in the pictures on ancient vases; and it is supposed that the different degrees of grace, in the arrangement of this garment, indicated the degree of refinement in the wearer. At times, the mode of wearing it was made to indicate the state of mind of the individual. Thus, it was drawn over the head by persons in deep affliction, or engaged in any solemn religious ceremony. For both of these reasons it was represented as drawn over the head of Agamemnon in the celebrated classical painting of the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia. Finally the *peplum* served as a protection to the head in stormy weather; though travellers provided themselves with a flat-broad-brimmed hat, which they called a *petasus*, tied under the chin like a bonnet.

The dress of the Roman ladies was much like that worn by the Greeks. It consisted of the tunic, or *stola*, reaching to the feet, with long sleeves worn next the skin; then the *amiculum*, formed of two square pieces of stuff fastened on the shoulders; and, lastly, the *palla*, corresponding to the Grecian *peplum*, and very similar to the men's *toga*, except that it was more ample and was embroidered. The Roman ladies bestowed infinite pains upon the dressing of their hair. Like the Greeks, they used the curling tongs; and a number of antique busts, portraits of Roman ladies, in the Gallery at Florence, display a degree of care, ingenuity, and skill in the coiffure, that would baffle the most accomplished hair-dresser of Paris at the present day. The hair was plaited, twisted,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or woven, into the most elaborate and exquisite forms. Coronets, wreaths, diadems, baskets of flowers, clusters of grapes, were all represented by the cunning hand of the Roman hair-dresser. When the natural color of the hair was not agreeable, it was stained, by means of a pomatum made of the dregs of vinegar and the oil of mastic. And when, after the conquest of Great Britain, the light golden hair of the Caledonian maidens gained the admiration of their conquerors, the ladies of Rome aspired to the same attraction by filling their hair with gold dust. They also used white and red paint for the face, besides a variety of washes and cosmetics.

The Roman ladies were very fond of jewels, and carried their passion for them to such an excess, as to become occasionally the subject of legislation. The principal personal ornaments were ear-rings, necklaces, and finger rings. The ear-rings were of gold, pearls, and precious stones, and were sometimes of immense value. Necklaces were also set with gems, and very precious, and were worn by men as well as women ; every school-boy will recollect the story of Manlius Torquatus. In the manufacture of ornamental chains, the Roman or Greek jewellers displayed great skill. There was one kind of chain, in particular, wrought with such consummate art, that modern jewellers have in vain attempted to imitate it. The links are so cunningly shaped and knit together, that, when the chain is extended, it resembles a single bar of gold ; and yet it is perfectly flexible in every possible direction, like a small cord. Chains of this kind in the most perfect preservation have been found in Pompeii. Finger rings were of various forms and devices, commonly set with engraved gems, and used as seals. A remarkable mention of these is in Cicero's Oration against Catiline, in which he speaks of the impress of the ring of Lentulus in his intercepted letter. Among the ornaments discovered in Pompeii, is a breast-pin, to which is attached a Bacchanalian figure with a *patera* or goblet in one hand, and a glass in the other ; having bat's wings attached to his shoulders, and two belts of grapes passing across his body.

Indeed, if we may judge from the symbols of ancient coquetry, which that living tomb, Pompeii, has yielded up, the refinement of the toilet was as great with the Romans, as at the present day ; and Pope's lines are as descriptive of a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

morning scene in the chamber of a Roman belle, as of a modern fine lady.

"Unnumbered treasures ope at once, and here
The various offerings of the world appear;
From each she nicely culls with curious toil
And decks the goddess with the glittering spoil.
This casket India's glowing gems unlocks,
And all Arabia breathes from yonder box;
The tortoise here and elephant unite,
Transformed to combs, the speckled and the white.
Here files of pins extend their shining rows,
Puffs, powders, patches."

How the poor things managed without the "Bibles" and "billets-doux," which should complete the line, is more than we know; perhaps some of our fair readers can suggest the substitute.

The dress of the men consisted of the *tunic*, which reached nearly to the knees and had no sleeves. It was fastened by a girdle above the hips; and a strip of purple, on the right side of this garment in front, indicated, by its breadth, whether the wearer was of Senatorial or Equestrian rank. Over this, was worn the distinguishing garment of the Romans, the *toga*. It has been disputed by antiquaries, whether the form of this garment was round or square. Mr. Hope thinks it was semicircular. Beckmann says, that the Roman weavers made each piece of cloth just of the proper size for a toga, so that when it came from the loom it was ready for use, and probably had no seam. It was a loose robe or cloak, extending from the neck to the feet, closed below the breast, but open above, and without sleeves. It was ample, flowing, and graceful; and gave a dignified and majestic air to the wearer.

The materials used by the Romans in the manufacture of their garments, were chiefly linen and wool. The *toga* was woollen, and generally white, though mourners wore it black. Silk began to be imported in the latter days of the republic, nor did the Romans at first understand the manufacture of it. Afterwards they began to weave it, intermixing woollen thread. The fabric thus formed, was called *vestes Coæ*, as it was invented in the island of Cos. It was very thin, like muslin or gauze, and is spoken of by Seneca as "woven wind." The term *bombycina*, undoubtedly the origin of our

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

word *bombazine*, derived from *bombyx*, a *silk-worm*, was applied to this fabric.

The Romans commonly went with the head bare or only covered with the toga, except at sacred rites and festivals, on journeys, and in war. At the *Saturnalia*, they wore the *pileus*, or woollen cap, which was never permitted to be worn by slaves. They probably assumed it particularly at this festival, as a mark of distinction, because slaves during the Saturnalia were allowed almost unlimited license, and needed something to admonish them of their real condition. Roman travellers, like Greek travellers, wore the *petasus*.

There were various coverings for the feet. The *calcei* were somewhat like our shoes, and covered the foot entirely. They were provided with strings or lacings, which sometimes covered the ancle. Senators wore on the top of the *calceus*, a gold or silver crescent, as a mark of their order. The shoes of men were usually black; those of women were white, red, yellow, or of other colors. Buskins were also worn, covering only the sole of the foot and laced above. Soldiers wore boots reaching as high as the ancle. The legs were protected by bands of cloth, wound round them from the thigh downwards.

The distinguishing marks, in the costume of the Greeks and Romans, were elegance, majesty, and grace. Their robes were loose and flowing. They were never intended to display the form, but to hang loosely around it, suggesting grace and beauty to the imagination, while they actually concealed the work of nature. The dress of these nations had a good effect upon the art of sculpture. In their costume, form was of much more consequence than color; and it could therefore be perfectly represented by the marble. The sculptor at the present day is embarrassed in the representation of his hero. The modern costume, which, especially with military men, depends as much for its effect on color as on form, and perhaps even more, cannot be adequately represented by marble; and the artist must clothe his statue in some foreign or imaginary garb, which every one knows he never wore. The Greek sculptor, on the contrary, found in every man he met a model, which he might study to advantage. And the immense variety of arrangement, which the ample robe allowed, must have constantly suggested to him some new idea with regard to the arrangement and flow

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of drapery; a subject of sufficient importance to occupy one chapter in Flaxman's admirable volume of Lectures. We can now do no more than hint at the effect thus produced on one of the fine arts. At some future time, we may find occasion to resume the subject.

We must hasten on to the dress of modern ages. The dress of the different Christian nations of Europe has not greatly varied in the same century; and the description of the costume of one nation may be taken as a specimen of all. We shall, therefore, give an account of some of the most remarkable costumes of England. The dress of the Anglo-Saxons consisted of shirts; tunics, both long and short; surcoats, or sleeved gowns; cloaks or mantles; conical or Phrygian bonnets; shoes open in the middle, or on each side, and stockings. The legs were protected by breeches reaching to the knee. The hair was parted on the middle of the head, and hung down on each side, and the forked beard was worn. Women of the same era wore under-tunics with sleeves; upper-tunics like gowns; mantles or cloaks; kerchiefs or hoods; high-quartered shoes, and stockings.

But our readers will form a better notion of the Saxon dress from the following description, than it is possible to convey by our dry details. We quote from Scott's picture of Cedric the Saxon. "His dress was a tunic of forest green, furred at the throat and cuffs with what was called minever; a kind of fur inferior in quality to ermine, and formed, it is believed, of the skin of the grey squirrel. His doublet hung unbuttoned over a close dress of scarlet, which sat tight to his body; he had breeches of the same, but they did not reach below the lower part of the thigh, leaving the knee exposed. His feet had sandals of the same fashion with the peasants, but of finer materials, and secured in front with golden clasps. Behind his seat was hung a scarlet cloth cloak, lined with fur, and a cap of the same materials richly embroidered, which completed the dress of the opulent landholder when he chose to go forth."

Such was the general outline of the costume worn in England from the beginning of the tenth century. Some changes became visible in the fourteenth century. The head-covering for men assumed a great variety of forms, some of them very fantastic. They might be seen in all the variety of wreathed, turban-shaped, flapped, rolled, skull-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

capped, brimmed, with projecting ends, conical and cylindrical with or without brims, night-capped, tied under the chin, sometimes tongued over the head, escalloped, or simple bandages round the hair, &c. Spencers were also worn, buttoning in front and without sleeves. The shoes were long-pointed, and were joined to the stocking so as to form but one garment; and were differently colored on each leg. The shirt, in the time of the Saxons and Normans, formed no ostensible part of the dress; but, at a later period, when tunics became doublets or waistcoats, they were made more open upon the neck and bosom, so as to display the shirt collar, which was richly embroidered.

In the fifteenth century, the costume became still more fanciful and grotesque. The doublets were cut and slashed, and nearly disjointed at the elbows, in order to show the fineness of the shirts. The dress of the two sexes could hardly be distinguished from each other; men wore petticoats over their lower clothing; the doublets were laced in front like stays, over a stomacher; and the gowns were open in front to the girdle, and again from the girdle to the ground. The women wore gowns, enormous trains, and corsets over the other dress; and were particularly distinguished by two peculiarities, the horned and the steeple head-dresses; the former consisting of two elevations like a mitre worn edgewise, the other having only one elevation, of a pyramidal or conical form, and very high. Addison dates the existence of these enormous head-dresses a century earlier, though they probably appeared both in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He says, "I do not remember in any part of my reading, that the head-dress aspired to so great an extravagance as in the fourteenth century; when it was built up in a couple of cones or spires, which stood so excessively high, on each side of the head, that a woman, who was but a pigmy without her head-dress, appeared like a Colossus upon putting it on. Monsieur Paradin says, that these old-fashioned fantanges rose an ell above the head; that they were pointed like steeples, and had long pieces of crape fastened to the tops of them, which were curiously fringed, and hung down their backs like streamers."

In the sixteenth century, men wore gowns, boddices, close pantaloons, boots coming up to the middle of the thigh, cloaks, slashed doublets, petticoat breeches, and the remark-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

able trunk hose, which were breeches sitting close to the leg, and stuffed out enormously about the hips. The women appeared in long boddices, with or without skirts, and the famous farthingale, which was an immense hooped petticoat; they also invented a kind of doublet with high wings and puffed sleeves, a costume in full fashion in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. To give our readers a better notion of the costume of this period, we will again quote from Scott, who was extremely correct and minutely accurate in his descriptions. Whom, then, can we select, as a more worthy representative of the fashions of the sixteenth century, than that renowned cavalier Sir Piercie Shafton? His first appearance is thus described: "He has a crimson velvet bonnet, and long, brown hair falling down under it, and a beard on his upper lip, and his chin clean and close shaved, save a small patch on the point of it, and a sky-blue jerkin slashed, and lined with white satin, and trunk hose to suit." Again, in speaking of his wardrobe, Sir Piercie gives the following catalogue, which might drive a modern dandy to despair. "My rich crimson silk doublet, slashed out and lined with cloth of gold, which I wore at the last revels, with baldric and trimmings to correspond; also two pair of black silk slops, with hanging garters of carnation silk; also the flesh-colored silken doublet with the trimmings of fur, in which I danced the salvage man at the Gray's Inn mummery." "There are four suits of as pure and elegant device as ever the fancy of a fair lady doated upon, every one having a treble and appropriate change of ribbons, trimmings, and fringes, which, in case of need, may, as it were, renew each of them, and multiply the four into twelve. There is also my sad-colored riding suit, and three cut-work shirts with falling bands," &c. Such were the wonders of the wardrobe in the sixteenth century.

And here we leave the subject of costumes. The changes of dress since that time have been great. The subject is ample and amusing, as connected with politics, literature, and religion, as well as fashion, but we forbear to pursue it. We have already far exceeded the limits we first fixed for our article, and we might engage in speculations which would be thought foreign to the matter.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ART. VII. — *Boylston Prize Dissertations for the Years 1836 and 1837.* By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, M. D., Fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and Member of the *Société Médicale d'Observation* of Paris. Boston; Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1838. 8vo. pp. 371.

IN 1803, Ward Nicholas Boylston established a fund, affording an income of one hundred dollars a year, to be expended in prizes for Medical Dissertations; the fund to be managed by the Corporation of Harvard University, and the prizes to be awarded by a committee of physicians, appointed by the Corporation. At first three subjects were proposed in each year; and the premium awarded to the author of the best dissertation on each, was a gold medal of the value of thirty-three dollars. In 1815, the number of annual questions was reduced, at the suggestion of the Committee, to two, and the value of the medal increased to fifty dollars; and so it continues to the present time. It would have been still better, if the whole sum had been appropriated to a single medal each year. The Committee, in 1815, recommended this change; but the founder did not assent to it.

As it is, the Boylston medal has drawn out a considerable number of discussions, some of them of no small degree of merit. The questions proposed are such as the committee judge to be best suited to lead to valuable discoveries or important observations; and entire impartiality in the adjudication of the premium is secured by having the names of the authors concealed until after the award is made, when the sealed packet, accompanying the successful dissertation, is alone opened. Unsuccessful authors are never known, unless they choose to avow themselves; and thus they are spared any mortification, which might otherwise add to the disappointment of their failure. The volume before us contains three Dissertations, for which the Boylston premiums were awarded to the author in 1836 and 1837. It affords a proof of his industry as well as of his talents, that the author should be successful in obtaining three prizes in two successive years, gaining in the latter year both that were offered.

The first Dissertation is a "History of Intermittent Fever,"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so far as it is known to have prevailed in New England, on the question, as proposed by the Committee; "To what Extent, and in what Places, has Intermittent Fever been indigenous in New England?" For many years past, the only cases of this disease, which have appeared among us, except in a few peculiar situations, have been evidently caused by exposure elsewhere. There were some traditions, and some scattered notices, which seemed to imply that it was not always so; but that, on the contrary, the early settlers of New England, had, in common with most pioneers in a new country, to encounter this among the other difficulties of their enterprise. The inquiry, therefore, involved more of antiquarian research than of recent history. The materials for the investigation were few, and of the most miscellaneous character. The few physicians who accompanied the early Pilgrims, seem to have had too much else to do, to employ themselves in writing for the benefit, or to gratify the curiosity, of their successors. There were no medical journals to receive occasional communications; and to make a medical book was an undertaking in that day rarely accomplished, and in this new world not attempted till long after.

What notices there are of the early diseases of New England, are to be found chiefly in the incidental mention of them in the letters and journals of the first settlers, as collected in biographical memoirs, and local histories; and in the traditions, which, in some instances, have been handed down and preserved by curious conservators of the sayings and doings of their ancestors. In these repositories of ancient occurrences Dr. Holmes has made a diligent search; and he has succeeded in bringing together many facts, of which the record was scarcely known to exist, and in rescuing from oblivion others, of which the knowledge would soon have been irretrievably lost.

It may serve as an encouragement to the inhabitants of some of our new settlements to hope for healthier days, at least for their children, when their forests shall have more thoroughly decayed, to learn, that the same fever and ague, which now so seriously disturbs their comforts and enjoyments, once pervaded the most healthy parts of New England, from which it has wholly disappeared for more than a century. The justly celebrated Eliot contracted the disease in his missionary excursions to the Indians on the hills in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Newton ; where no trace of it has been seen for several generations.

Since the early forests were cleared off, Intermittent fever has appeared in New England only in a very few situations, in which some peculiar local cause has operated to produce it. An example of this kind occurred on the banks of the Connecticut River, in Hampshire county, Massachusetts. A dam was carried across the river, in 1792, at South Hadley, to aid the operations of a canal, in consequence of which the low grounds on the borders of the river were partially overflowed. For several years after, *fever and ague* prevailed to a considerable extent in the neighbourhood ; and so confidently was it attributed to the dam, that several of the sick persons recovered damages at law from the canal corporation, and ultimately the dam was removed by order of court, and the disease has rarely, if ever, originated there since.

The valley of the Housatonic River, in Berkshire county, has been still more productive of intermittents. The detailed accounts of these, given by Dr. Holmes, belong rather to the members of his profession, interesting as they are to them, than to our readers in general. But we cannot forbear to quote an amusing example of successful confidence in an empirical remedy, from the letter of one of his correspondents, written at the advanced age of eighty-seven years.

"About forty years ago," writes Dr. Partridge, of Stockbridge, "a Mr. Smith, from the hills east in Connecticut, bought a farm, mostly tillage land, in the southwest part of Stockbridge, bounding east on the river, (west on a hill,) here raised some way above and below said farm ; no stagnant water near, fogs rare (except in calm weather), and more rarely reaching his house, on rising ground, so as to hide the morning sun. His wife of a sedate disposition, quiet and slow of speech, not readily disturbed and rarely from home. After about two years (1802 I think), the occurrence took place. I lodged in Tyringham, say about ten miles southeast from home ; in the morning rode a few miles northeast into Haycock Hollow, to see a patient, and return home down said vale through South Lee ; between 9 and 10 A. M., I met said Mrs. Smith, riding southeast up said vale, as I supposed, out only on a visit, and passed with only a 'Good morning.' I here was nine miles from home, and she nearly thirteen. The same day, at four o'clock, P. M., four miles northwest from home, I

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

met Mrs. Smith again, three miles north from her home. I stopped to say, 'Where have you been to-day? You must have been a round-about way, to be returning on this road.' She says, 'I do not know where I have been. A few days ago, the *fever ague* took me, and I was told, that if I would rise early in the morning, eat some crusts of bread and drink water, and take an horse, and crusts in my pocket, and ride all day, all the roads I could find which I never see before, and eat only crust and drink water, I should lose the fever ague.' 'Well, is this your fit day?' 'Yes.' 'Have you felt any ague?' 'No; a little before I see you in the morning, I might have a little chill; but I did not regard it, the sun was so warm and pleasant.' 'Any fever?' 'No; but may have drinked more water than common with my crusts, and felt pretty well all day, but now am some tired.' 'Where have you been?' 'I do not know. After I saw you in the morning I rode on, and coming to the hills, turned and came back, took a road, went on north, till noon, or after, and turned about to find the way home, — going right, I suppose?' 'Yes, — farewell.' Desiring to know the issue of the strange impression on her mind, with the exercise and diet, I soon after went and inquired as to the event, and found that she lost the ague and fever that day, and had no more of it." — pp. 98, 99.

The second Dissertation, "On the Nature and Treatment of Neuralgia," gives scope to a different kind of investigation. A young man, just entering upon the practical duties of his profession, cannot of course be expected to do much in the way of discovery, by original observations, in reference to an obscure and not very frequent disease. All that is left for him to do is, to collect the best observations of others, and, by a skilful examination and comparison of them, to draw from them such a description of the disease, and of its character and treatment, as they afford the means for. This Dr. Holmes has done; and with such industry and ability, as to render his treatise highly valuable to the profession.

The third Dissertation, "On the Utility and Importance of Direct Exploration in Medical Practice," had been already published; and under rather peculiar circumstances. It obtained for its author the Boylston premium for 1836. Two other dissertations on the same subject, though not entitled to the prize as being the best, were thought by the Committee worthy of notice; and, a liberal medical gentleman having furnished the means, they awarded a prize of the same pe-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cuniary value to their authors. The three were then published, at the expense of the same gentleman, by the Massachusetts Medical Society, and distributed gratuitously, not only to all the Fellows of that Society, but also to every other regular physician in Massachusetts. To be distinguished as the successful one among such worthy compeers, is sufficient evidence of the value of this treatise in the estimation of those most competent to judge of it.

Like the others it was written for the medical profession, and is chiefly interesting to them, rather than to our readers in general. It gives a survey of the affections in which direct exploration is applicable, the extent to which it is required in consequence of the inadequacy of other means of investigation, and of the results to be obtained from the examination. Most of our readers must have often seen, if they have happily been too much exempt from disease in the last few years to have felt, the physician tapping on the chest of his patient, and then applying his ear, and listening wistfully, as expecting some wise suggestion from within. To many of them, all this has seemed like mere trifling or quackery, while others have been ready enough to suppose that valuable information is gained by it; although few, we believe, out of the medical profession, have any very distinct notion of the nature of this information, or of the principles on which the means of obtaining it are founded.

This knowledge we propose now to supply them; and, if their curiosity has been enough excited by seeing the process of thumping and listening (percussion and auscultation) to induce them to give us a hearing, we shall hope to make it all plain to them. We might do this chiefly in the words of our author. But, as we have already intimated, in writing for physicians, he has of course made use of the technical terms by which they avoid circumlocution and gain precision. We shall strive to make ourselves intelligible to the uninitiated, even though it may be at the expense of some more words, and of some loss of professional exactness.

The language of auscultation has been more encumbered with technical phraseology than any department of medical science. The later French medical writers, from whom we have derived a large portion of our knowledge on this subject, have shown a remarkable propensity to coin new words. Sometimes they doubtless obtain by this means a term, which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

better expresses the qualities of the object they wish to designate. But, in many instances, the whole idea might be fully as well or better expressed by words already in use, and too often we get only new names for old ideas. The whole matter of auscultation has been peculiarly overburdened in this manner, by the use of new terms, coined with learned etymology from the Greek or Latin language; and we have no doubt, that a knowledge of its real utility has been greatly retarded by so much erudite phraseology. We do not mean to intimate, that the author of these "Dissertations" has exhibited any of this silly affectation. It is quite otherwise. He has merely used the language as he found it; and, writing for those to whom it is familiar, he had no reason to take any special pains to avoid or to explain it.

The principal methods of direct exploration, and the only methods of which we propose to speak, are *percussion* and *auscultation*. The others, *palpation*, *succussion*, &c., are either used too unfrequently, or their mode of application is too obvious, to demand our attention at present.

The principle, on which percussion is applied to the detection of disease, is sufficiently plain. Indeed, it is often used in the common affairs of life. The carpenter strikes his hammer against the wall, to ascertain where to drive his nail "in a sure place." The spirit-dealer knocks upon the head of his cask, to learn the quantity of liquor contained in it. With precisely the same view, the physician thumps the chest of his patient, that he may judge of the state of the organs by the sound which is given forth.

The chest is an enclosed cavity, containing, and in the natural state filled by, several organs of different degrees of density. Of course, the part corresponding to each organ gives a dull or a resonant sound, according as the organ is firm and solid, or light and porous. Much the greater portion of the chest is occupied by the lungs. They are of a light and spongy texture, partly filled with blood, and partly with air. The sound they emit is intermediate between that of an empty cavity, or one filled with air only, and a collection of fluid, or a solid organ. In the neighbourhood of the lungs is the heart on one side, and the liver on the other, both solid organs; the latter, indeed, not strictly in the same cavity, but capable of pressing upon the others. If either of these is increased in size, so as to encroach upon the lungs,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the existence and the extent of the encroachment will be shown by a flat sound in the place of the natural resonance.

If the membrane which lines the cavity of the chest becomes inflamed, a fluid is gradually poured out into the cavity, compressing the lungs, and occupying their space; and then a flat sound is the consequence. Or, the same space may be filled by air, introduced either by a wound, or as the effect of disease; and then the sound on the other hand is unnaturally resonant. The structure of the lungs itself is also liable to be changed by disease. On the one hand it may be *emphysematous*, too much distended by air, when the sound is hollow. On the other hand, it may be rendered unnaturally solid, either by a pressure of blood, or by inflammation, or by the formation of tubercles; either of which will cause the sound to be dull or flat in proportion to the extent of the disease.

It is not our purpose to go into particulars, and show how all the several affections are distinguished from each other. Such details belong to the physician, and must be studied by him with industry and care. The distinction is made partly by other considerations, and partly by differences in the percussion itself. We may give an example by way of illustration, of the extent to which this mode of investigation may be carried. We have said, that fluid in the chest, congestion of the lungs, inflammation, and tubercles, all cause a flat sound. How shall we know one of these from the rest? The formation of tubercles is a slow process, and the disease they produce is chronic; and it is attended by circumstances quite unlike those which ordinarily accompany the others. For this reason there can generally be little question between them. But this is not all. Tubercles are almost always first deposited in the upper portions of the lungs, while inflammation as generally occupies the middle and lower portions. In any case, therefore, where the disease has not advanced so far as to leave no room for doubt, if the flatness be in the upper part of the chest, the presumption is strong in favor of the existence of tubercles; if in the lower part, it is something else. In like manner, a crowded state of blood in the lungs is ascertained, chiefly by means other than those we are now considering. Between a collection of fluid in the chest, the result of acute inflammation of the lining membrane, and inflammation of the lung itself; that is,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between pleurisy and pneumonia, the distinction is not so easy. Both are acute diseases; and both give rise to many of the same symptoms. Indeed, so much alike are they in these respects, that it was formerly said to be impossible to distinguish them. Yet the importance of their effects is widely different. The one is a grave disease and often destroys life, the other is rarely fatal. And the treatment required by each is often very unlike. Here, too, we are by no means restricted to the use of percussion. Other modes of examination serve to explain, or correct, or confirm, as the case may be, the results of this. But we must show what this can do.

We have seen that, in pleurisy, the flatness of sound is caused by a fluid poured out into the cavity of the chest, taking the place of a portion of the lung. The flatness is consequently complete so far as the fluid extends, and there stops abruptly. In inflammation of the lung the condensation, and the consequent flatness, are complete only at the part most highly inflamed, and diminish by a more or less gentle gradation towards the healthy portions. This flatness, too, is constantly observed in the same place, whatever may be the position of the body, whereas in pleurisy every movement of the body causes the fluid to flow to the lowest part, and consequently changes the seat of the flat sound. These different circumstances are not always enough of themselves to establish a perfect diagnosis between the two diseases. But they go far towards it; and, taken in connexion with the results of the other principal mode of exploration, they rarely leave any just cause of doubt between them.

In detecting diseases of the heart, percussion, regarded by itself alone, will do little more than to point out an enlargement, without showing its precise character, or whether it be an enlargement of the heart itself, or a distention of the pericardium by a fluid. There are other means of making these distinctions, with a greater or less degree of certainty.

The organs of the abdomen are less concealed from observation, than those of the chest. The walls of the cavity are yielding, so that any considerable change in the size, or texture, or position, may be detected by pressure; a mode of examination now learnedly called *palpation*. Percussion is often useful, however, in diseases of these organs. It enables the physician to discover their precise condition with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

greater accuracy, to detect with more certainty the nature and extent of any enlargement of an organ, or the existence of any morbid growth, or the accumulation of a fluid.

From the almost constant use of percussion, in a large proportion of diseases, by most intelligent physicians, at the present day, and from the obvious principles upon which its proper application is founded, it would seem strange, that it should not have always been in use. But so it is. Until within the last few years, it was very little practised. Avenbrugger is said to have first introduced it as a new invention, in 1761. But his discovery excited very little notice until Corvisart called the attention of the profession to it, in 1808; and it did not come into general use until the publication of Laennec, in 1815. Since that time much has been written upon it, and much has been done to improve the art of practising it successfully.

At first, percussion was performed by striking with the ends of the fingers directly upon the part examined. But this is liable to serious objections. Besides that it sometimes gives pain, there is an uncertainty in the resonance, in consequence of the difference of texture in the several parts struck upon. The present practice is, therefore, always to interpose something to receive the blow. A variety of substances have been used for this purpose. An ivory plate has been much commended and much used; others prefer a piece of India rubber; and many use only a finger of the left hand. "Fingers were made before forks," says the proverb. The circumstance, that the finger is always at hand, while any other *pleximeter* adds something to the already cumbersome apparatus of the physician, is much in its favor; though in general, that will practically be the best in the hands of any practitioner, which he is most accustomed to use.

The degree of resonance on percussion is very considerably modified in different persons by the form and bodily condition of the patient. The chest of a thin, spare person, gives a much louder and clearer sound than one which is well clothed with fat and flesh. All this is easily taken into consideration by the physician, so that he is in little danger of mistaking an accumulation without the chest for disease within. A comparison between the two sides of the chest

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gives additional security against such a mistake. In some parts, it is true, the organs are different in the two sides; but to a considerable extent they correspond. It is also true, that the same state of disease may exist in the corresponding parts, so as to obscure the results of a comparison between them. But this is extremely rare. In general there is a marked difference in the sounds of the two sides in most cases of decided disease. To take advantage of this comparison, it is of course necessary, that the practitioner be accurate in his knowledge of the anatomy of the parts, or he may confound the flatness produced by striking upon a solid organ for that of diseased structure.

The practice of auscultation is founded upon principles of physical science equally well established. Sounds, which are caused by certain actions within the cavities of the body, are transmitted through the walls of the cavity, and are perceived when the ear is applied closely to the surface, or through the intervention of a proper instrument. These sounds are always alike under like circumstances, and are changed when the circumstances which caused them are changed. Hence the physician, if he render his ear familiar with the sounds caused by the internal actions of the body in a healthy state, will readily perceive a variation, when the part is diseased. What disease is indicated by any particular unnatural sound, he can learn only from repeated and extensive observations. But that there is a deviation from the natural state, he will perceive at once; and the accumulated observations of all the physicians, whose attention has been directed to the subject, have now gone far to explain most of the deviations which have been noticed.

These principles are chiefly available for practical purposes in reference to the actions of the lungs and the heart. The air in passing through the windpipe gives rise to a certain sound, which in health is always nearly the same. This sound is modified in the smaller tubes (the *bronchia*) into which the windpipe divides, and again still more decidedly in the little air vesicles in which the *bronchia* terminate, and which occupy every part of the lungs. These several sounds are readily perceived and easily distinguished by a *practised* ear, applied to the corresponding part of the chest and neck. Hence we have *tracheal*, *bronchial*, and *vesicular*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

respiration ; and if these are heard only in their appropriate places, and in a right degree of force, they indicate a healthy state of the parts.

When a portion of the lung is diseased, the current of air in that part is either obstructed or its natural force changed, and of course the sound is modified. Hence, by applying the ear extensively over the chest, we are enabled to detect the existence, and the precise seat, and generally the nature, of the disease. In inflammation of the lungs, the air cells are for the time obliterated in the part affected. As there are no vesicles for the air to enter, there is no vesicular respiration. But we have, what would not at first view be anticipated, *bronchial* respiration in its stead. In the healthy condition of the lungs, the porous character of the vesicular structure renders it a bad conductor of sound, so that the sound caused by the air in the bronchial tubes is not transmitted through them. But when they are consolidated by disease, they become good conductors of sound ; and, at the same time, the morbid condition of the parts gives a greater degree of intensity to the sound itself.

Bronchial respiration, then, heard in the place of vesicular, always indicates — inflammation ? That would be a simplicity in the art of distinguishing diseases, which nature does not tolerate. But it always indicates a consolidation of the lung from some cause, and inflammation is one of the most frequent of the causes. Another, and unhappily a frequent cause, is the deposition of tubercles, in incipient consumption. As in regard to percussion, so in reference to auscultation, there are means of distinguishing between the several morbid affections, which give rise to phenomena in many respects similar. These it is the business of the physician to study, and they often exercise his ingenuity and industry not a little. But it would lead us too far to attempt to explain them here.

There are other morbid sounds in the respiration, besides those which arise from what we may call the misplacement of such as are healthy. When the membrane which lines the air passages is inflamed, as in common cold or catarrh, its surface is at first unnaturally dry ; and in that state the current of air through the tubes gives rise to various sounds more or less musical, which are the different modifications of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the *sonorous râle.** At a later period the membrane becomes more than naturally moist, and the passages are crowded, and more or less obstructed, by an adhesive fluid. In this state, if the ear is applied to the chest, the air is heard bubbling through the mucus, and this is the *mucous râle*. Inflammation of the substance of the lung, in its earlier stage, before the air vesicles are obliterated, is accompanied by a still different *râle*, the *crepitous*. In the advanced stage of consumption, a cavity, sometimes more than one, is formed in the lungs, at first filled with purulent matter, which is afterwards discharged through an opening into a bronchial tube. The air as it rushes into, and out of, this cavity in every respiration gives rise to a peculiar hollow sound, which is the *cavernous râle*. If the cavity is very large, and the opening into it from the bronchia small, the sound resembles that caused by blowing into the mouth of an empty bottle (*amphoric resonance*). The same sound is produced when air escapes into the cavity of the chest, compressing the lung; which is sometimes the result of an accidental injury, and sometimes of ulceration.

The sounds of the voice give still farther aid in detecting and distinguishing the diseases of the lungs. In the healthy state of those organs, no peculiar sensation is communicated to the ear, unless it be applied over the windpipe, or over the larger bronchia at the root of the lungs. But where a portion of the lung is condensed, whether it be by inflammation, or tubercles, or by the infiltration of a fluid into its substance, a resonance of the voice is transmitted to the ear at the corresponding part of the chest, resembling that from the bronchial tubes, and thence called *bronchophony*. When there is an empty cavity in the lungs, the sound is still more remarkable. The voice seems to enter the ear, as if the mouth of the speaker were applied closely to it. This speaking from the chest (*pectoriloquy*), when strongly

* There is a good deal of difference of opinion as to the best term to designate these morbid sounds. Some writers use the English word *rattle*, and others the Latin *rhonchus*. We prefer to adopt the French *râle*, used by Laennec. Where the thing to be expressed is new, it is better to adopt a new word, than to assign a new meaning to a word already in common use. As no new English word has been proposed, we can only do this by borrowing from a foreign language; and the French term was first introduced, and is more extensively used, and more agreeable to the ear than the Latin.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

marked, is a very decided characteristic of confirmed consumption, and sometimes gives evidence of a hopeless condition of that deceptive disease, long before the symptoms have led the patient to feel any apprehension. Dr. Williams says of it, "More than once has it occurred to me, that the very words, which in that delusive confidence with which this malady enshrouds its victims, ridiculed my examination of the chest, roundly saying, that nothing ailed them there, have belied their meaning, and, coming from the breast, have told a far different tale." A modification of the voice, of a different character, is observed in some states of the chest in pleurisy. The voice comes to the ear through the walls of the chest, not in its clear natural tone, but in a vibrating, thrilling, squeaking sound; like the bleating of a goat (*hægophony*).

Auscultation is applied to the investigation of the diseases of the heart as well as those of the lungs, although the actions of this organ are more obscure, and the phenomena which attend them are less understood. On applying the ear over the region of the heart, we perceive, in the first place, the impulse of the heart beating against the ribs; then we hear two distinct sounds, following each other at every pulsation, in regular succession. By habitual practice we learn to distinguish the natural force of the impulse, as well as its natural extent and limits, and the regular cadence or rhythm of the successive sounds, and to appreciate the difference if either is changed by disease. The diagnosis of the particular diseases of the heart and large arteries is still involved in much obscurity. Considerable progress has been made in the knowledge of them within the last few years, and much may be hoped from the investigations which are constantly going on. As it is, we are in general able to distinguish with confidence between the actual changes of structure in that organ, and the nervous, and sometimes imaginary affections, which have often, in past times, been confounded with them. And, in many cases, if not in most, we can ascertain the particular character of the morbid affection, and give a tolerably sure prognostication of its termination. There is here consolation in the fact, that some of these diseases, which were formerly classed together without any other distinction than "diseases of the heart," and regarded alike with terror,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as surely fatal, excite very little alarm, now that their true character, and the means of distinguishing them, are better known.

Enlargements of the heart, or its envelope, are easily detected by the greater extent over which the impulse and the sounds of its action are perceived, and by the absence of the sound of respiration, in consequence of the encroachment of this organ upon the lungs, as well as by an enlargement of the corresponding part of the chest, and a change in the sound on percussion. But a knowledge of the general fact of an enlargement is not enough. We wish to know, whether it be a simple dilatation of the cavities of the heart, or the thickening of its muscular substance, or a distention of the pericardium by a fluid. And each of these has its appropriate, characteristic marks, so as to leave little cause of doubt between them. The membrane which covers the external surface of the heart, and that which lines its internal cavities, and occasionally also the muscular substance itself, are liable to inflammation; its numerous valves are exposed to various diseases; and both its cavities and its orifices are subject to unnatural dilatation or contraction. Most of these changes can be detected with a greater or less degree of confidence during life, and some of them are capable of successful treatment. We shall not trouble our readers with a description of the different sounds heard in the several diseases, as we have done in regard to the lungs; partly because these sounds are less fully understood, and partly because we are afraid of wearying them with so many details.

Let us now see how these two modes of exploration, *percussion* and *auscultation*, bear upon each other. We have thus far examined them only in their separate capacities. In their relations to each other, they do much to correct or confirm the results obtained from either separately. In all diseases of the chest, besides the knowledge obtained from the symptoms, we have two distinct modes of observation. If the inferences drawn from the sounds on percussion are confirmed by applying the ear to the chest, — and, in regard to the lungs, we have both the respiration and the voice to reveal their secrets to us; — and especially if these inferences are in accordance with the symptoms, we may feel an assured confidence, that we have come to a just knowledge of the disease.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A man has pain in the side, with difficulty of breathing, attended by more or less fever. All this may arise either from rheumatism in the muscles, or from pleurisy or inflammation of the lung; and the symptoms alone will not always tell which is the disease. If it be rheumatism, we are not likely to find any external sign of it, except perhaps some feebleness of respiration, on account of the difficulty of expanding and contracting the chest. If the disease be pleurisy, we shall have flatness on percussion, in the lower part of the side affected, changing its place if the patient changes his position, so as always to keep the lowest part; absence of all sound of respiration in that part, while the respiratory sound is louder than natural in the surrounding parts; and generally hægophonic resonance of the voice. If it be inflammation of the lung, there is dulness on percussion, increasing, as the disease advances, to flatness, retaining the same place in all positions, not bounded abruptly by healthy resonance; crepitous *râle* in the respiratory sounds, at first, followed by bronchial respiration and bronchophony. These several characteristics, however obscure they may seem in the description to many of our readers, to an intelligent and experienced observer will perfectly designate the character of the disease, so as to leave no doubt whatever in his mind. The disease may, indeed, be complicated, and then the evidences of its nature will be so too; and so will be the treatment that it will require.

A more interesting case is unhappily also much more frequent. A youth, just ripening into manhood, gradually loses his ruddy color and vigorous strength; he loses flesh, and occasionally a slight cough alarms the fears of his friends, though he himself thinks it nothing but a trifling cold. On examination, a slight dulness is observed at the apex of one lung, — so slight as scarcely to be appreciated except by comparison with the opposite side. The respiratory sound is at first remarkably feeble at that part, or a little later there is bronchial respiration and bronchophony. These are sure indications, that the way is already prepared for consumption. Still there is hope, if a proper regimen can immediately be begun and persevered in; for direct remedies can here do but little. Too often, either the patient is not alarmed early enough, or, in despite of every precaution or effort, the disease advances. Bronchial respiration is followed by a muco-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crepitous, and then by cavernous *râle*, bronchophony by pectoriloquy, and so on till life is destroyed, each step of the destructive process being clearly revealed by the sounds elicited in successive examinations.

But what avails it thus to trace the melancholy progress of a disease which we have no power to arrest? There is some consolation in knowing the just amount of what we have to fear, however great that amount may be. And, if we have no remedies that are able to reach this formidable disease, who shall say, that we shall never have them? The first steps towards acquiring them must be taken in obtaining a full knowledge of the disease. We can now do something towards prolonging life and diminishing suffering. We can at least abstain from doing harm by vain attempts to effect what is impossible. Above all, by an early discovery of the disease, we may teach our patient to flee from the danger before it overtakes him. In very many cases, a careful examination of the chest will detect unequivocal evidence of approaching consumption, long before the symptoms excite any considerable apprehension. At this early period much may be done to avert the danger. And if the attention of physicians and patients were more directed to this period, much more might doubtless be done to diminish the fatality of consumption than ever has been.

If it be asked, on which we are the most to depend for the elucidation of disease, the investigation of symptoms, or an examination by physical signs, we answer, that there is no opposition whatever between them. The use of direct exploration does not preclude a careful inquiry into the symptoms of the case. On the contrary, it prompts to a more full investigation. In practical life, it certainly is true, that those physicians who most constantly make use of the benefits of exploration, are not only equally, but generally much more, thorough in their inquiries into all the circumstances of a patient's health, than those who neglect or ridicule it. This may be partly because those, who are the most zealous in their researches, are the most willing to take the trouble requisite to acquire a new method of investigation, when it promises adequate advantages. But this is not the whole of it. There is something so grateful in comparing the results of different modes of examination, that, were it a mere matter of specula-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tive philosophy, the mind would necessarily be stimulated by the comparison.

There are still some physicians, who laugh at the whole matter of direct exploration as either idle foolery, or empiricism. But they are those, who have never taken the pains to learn how to practise it; were there no more advantage in it than they know how to obtain from it, their ridicule might be better founded. Whether their ignorance be the effect of indolence or incompetence, it becomes us not to say. But, while they laugh, others will learn; and the time is not far distant, when the physician, who is unable to practise percussion and auscultation, will be held to be unfit for his profession. We have not written these remarks in the expectation of converting such men to our views. Nor, indeed, has it been our leading object to instruct the profession generally. Our aim has been, to give to unprofessional readers some notion of these new methods of examination. Neither our limits nor our plan admit of going fully into the details of the subject. But we have hoped to do enough to show, that the means of acquiring an accurate knowledge of an extensive and highly important class of diseases are vastly improved by the introduction of this mode of examining them.

ART. VIII. — 1. *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed, udgivet af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab. Andet Bind.*

(*Bemaerkninger over de Venetianerne Zeni tilskrevne Reiser i Norden*; af C. C. ZAHRTMANN, Capitainlieutenant.) Kiobenhavn: 1833.

2. *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. Volume the Fifth.*

(*Remarks on the Voyages to the Northern Hemisphere, ascribed to the Zeni of Venice.* By Captain C. C. ZAHRTMANN, R. N., Hydrographer to the Royal Danish Navy; and communicated by him. Read 27 April, 1835.) London: 1835.

RIVAL pretensions to the glory of having discovered the New World are fast springing up, or beginning to be urged with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

renewed vigor. In a late Number of this Journal we examined somewhat at length the apparently well-founded claims of the Scandinavian navigators, whose voyages were performed as early as the tenth century.* Between that period and the date of the first voyage of Columbus, if we may believe the accounts, the American coast was visited by the Arabians (of the Spanish Peninsula), the Welsh, the Venetians, the Portuguese, and by a native Pole in the service of Denmark. Other rumored voyages were made within the same period, but they rest on more questionable authority.

The Arabian expedition, it appears, was undertaken by a company consisting of eight persons, of the same family, called the *Almagrurins*, or, as commonly translated, the *Wandering Brothers*, who, having made provision for a long voyage, "swore they would not return until they had penetrated the farthest bounds of the DARK SEA," meaning the Atlantic, then vulgarly supposed to be enveloped in literal darkness. Sailing from Lisbon, these bold adventurers directed their course to the south and west, and, after many days, discovered an island inhabited by a people of lofty stature, a red skin, and long flowing hair, descending upon their shoulders. They were here told by the inhabitants, that persons from the island had sailed twenty days to the west without discovering land. Despairing of accomplishing the purpose of their voyage, the Arabian brothers retraced their course, and returned safely to Lisbon. The island they discovered is supposed by some writers to have been situated on the American coast; but the better opinion seems to be, that it was one of the Canary group, whose original population, the Guanches, were a pastoral race, not unlike the people described in the account of this voyage. The date of the voyage is not certainly known; but, as the Arabians were driven from Lisbon in 1147, it must have been prior to that period. †

A brief account of the voyages of Madoc, a Welsh navigator, as related by Dr. Powel, the historian of Wales, is contained in Hakluyt's invaluable collection, who says, that the land discovered by him (in 1170) "must needs be some part of that country of which the Spaniards affirm themselves to be the first finders since Hanno's time.

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLVI. pp. 161–203.
† Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, Vol. II. p. 137.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Whereupon it is manifest, that the country was by Britons discovered long before Columbus led any Spaniards thither."* We do not learn, however, that the British government has ever rested its claim to any part of America on the strength of this discovery.

The Venetian discoveries, to which our attention will be chiefly directed in the present article, are referred to the latter part of the fourteenth century; and Count Daru, in his admirable History of the Republic, states, that the library of St. Mark, at Venice, contains a map bearing the date of 1436, with the name of a Venetian geographer, or artist, on which is laid down a large extent of land, five or six hundred leagues west of Gibraltar, under the name of Antillia.†

According to the Portuguese writers, Newfoundland was discovered in 1463 by John Vas Cortereal, of Portugal, who gave it the name of *Terra de Baccalhaos* (the Land of Cod Fish); but the evidence, on which the statement depends, is far from being conclusive, although recently Barrow, and other English writers, have, without much examination, given countenance to the story. An American writer, the author of the "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," has shown pretty conclusively, by a rigid investigation of the subject, that there is little, if any, ground for the claim; in which opinion he is approved and followed by Baron Humboldt.

The voyage of Szkolney (or, as the name is Latinized, Sciolvus), the Pole, to the coasts of Greenland and Labrador, is stated to have been performed in 1476; and we are informed, that a learned countryman of that navigator has recently vindicated his merits in an elaborate work, written in the Polish language, which is spoken of in terms of high commendation.‡

It is not our purpose, at the present time, to examine these various pretensions to the discovery of this continent,

---

* *Voyages*, &c. Vol. III. p. 1.

† *Histoire de Venise*, Vol. V. p. 625. Malte-Brun, referring to this matter, says, "M. Pinkerton croit que cette Antillia qui se trouve aussi sur d'anciennes cartes Venitiennes, n'est qu'une création systematique des géographes, qui s'imaginaient qu'il devait y avoir un continent opposé à celui de l'ancien monde, et destiné à contre-balancer celui-ci. Mais je ne vois pas que M. Pinkerton donne aucune raison de son opinion." — *Géographie Universelle*, p. viii. note.

‡ *Humboldt*, Ibid. Vol. II. p. 152.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as to their respective claims to consideration; but nevertheless we are bound to say, that the subject, in our opinion, presents to the student of geographical history a fair ground for diligent inquiry, and impartial attention.

We have already alluded to the Venetian voyages, on the strength of which the Republic contests the originality of the discoveries of Columbus, the son of a rival state. The claim, as stated by Count Daru, is, that two brothers of the family of Zeno, discovered Iceland, Greenland, Canada, Virginia, and Mexico, towards the close of the fourteenth century. This, it will be hereafter seen, is too broad a statement of the matter; but it is sufficiently correct for the moment. Whatever may be thought ultimately of the effort thus made to dim the glory of the great man who was, at least, the first to make the discovery of the new world practically useful to the old, and however slight may seem the foundation for so sweeping an assumption, which has been advocated with great zeal and no small degree of learned research, within a few years, by one of the highest dignitaries of the Romish church,* the subject is certainly one of more than ordinary interest, and forms a curious chapter in the geographical annals of our continent.

The political and commercial preëminence of the Venetian Republic during the Middle Ages, until the discovery of a new route by sea to the Indies, is well known. Constantinople and the principal cities of Greece, were tributary to her power, and on the soil of Italy her superiority was disputed, but never shaken, by the fierce jealousies of rival states. The distant regions of the East poured their treasures into her lap, and her "argosies with portly sail" not only covered the Mediterranean, but extended their adventurous voyages beyond the Pillars of Hercules, to the Atlantic coasts of Spain and Portugal, France, England, and the ports of Flanders, then the principal marts of the north of Europe.

> "A dying glory smiles
> O'er the far times when many a subject land
> Looked to the winged Lion's marble piles,
> Where VENICE sat in state, throned on her hundred isles."

When we contrast the fallen and abject condition into which that far-famed republic has declined in modern times, with

* Cardinal Zurla.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the brilliant and commanding station she once filled, — her commerce annihilated, her liberties the sport of arbitrary power, the palaces of her merchant princes and illustrious nobles tenantless, and the descendants of her proudest families perishing with want at home, or lingering out a wretched existence in exile abroad, — the lesson of earthly vicissitude cannot fail to awaken the most profound emotion, and create the liveliest sympathy for her hapless fate.

The merchants of Venice were the first to explore the realms of Eastern Asia, and reveal the existence of the rich possessions of the Tartar monarchs to admiring, but incredulous Europe. The visions of wealth, luxury, and magnificence, that garnished the tales of the early travellers, were among the most active stimulants to that new spirit of enterprise, which finally resulted in the discovery of the new world. Columbus himself caught from this source the inspiration that led him on in the career of adventure, and crowned his hopes with a consummation of which he had not dreamed. But, strange as it may seem, he was never undeceived ; to the last moment of his life, he continued in the belief, that his discoveries had only opened a shorter route to those regions of Eastern Asia, Mangi and Cathay, which the Venetian travellers had visited by land, and whose exhaustless riches they had so eloquently described.

Among these merchant travellers, and the most celebrated of all, were the brothers Nicolò and Maffeo Polo, or Paolo, and Marco, a son of Nicolò. The two former made their first journey into Tartary about the year 1255, and, after several years' absence, returned to Italy as ambassadors from the Great Khan to the Pope. After remaining at home for a brief period, they again set out on a second journey to Asia, accompanied by Marco, whose description of their travels is now the oldest book of its class, and, although long regarded as only a bundle of fables, has been abundantly verified in all important particulars by succeeding travellers. After an absence of more than twenty years, the Polos returned to Venice, in 1295 ; but, as no intelligence respecting them had reached their native city before their return, they had the mortification to find themselves entirely forgotten by all their old acquaintance and countrymen. They repaired to their own house, a noble palace in the street of St. Chrysostom,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and found it inhabited by several of their relatives, who were either unwilling, or unable, to recognise them. The dress of the travellers was coarse, and much worn, and in the Tartar fashion. They had, besides, partly forgotten their native tongue, intermingling with their conversation foreign words, and, in their general air and demeanor, had become assimilated to the people among whom they had sojourned for so long a period. It was not strange, therefore, that they should not have been recognised at once.

The means these adventurous travellers took to revive the recollections of their kinsmen, and excite the respect of their countrymen, may be familiar to our readers, but the story is too good to lose by repetition. They invited all their relations and old associates to a magnificent entertainment; when the guests arrived, what was their astonishment on finding the poor, despised travellers arrayed in rich garments of crimson satin, made in the Oriental fashion, which, before leading the way to a table loaded with luxuries, they exchanged for still richer robes of crimson damask. The surprise of the company was without bounds, when, after dismissing the attendants, Marco produced the coarse Tartar dresses in which they had arrived; these he now cut open, and from their folds and linings took out so prodigious a quantity of rubies, sapphires, emeralds, carbuncles, and diamonds, that the guests, delighted with the beauty and splendor of these costly and magnificent gems, no longer hesitated to acknowledge their countrymen.

When the fame of this wonderful banquet had spread throughout Venice, as it soon did, the travellers became at once the lions of the day. Crowds of persons, of all ranks, flocked to their palace, to see and congratulate them on their return, and listen to the story of their unsurpassed adventures. Maffeo, the oldest of the party, was admitted to the honors of the magistracy, as a token of respect, and public marks of distinction were conferred upon them all. The noble youth of the city came almost daily to visit and converse with Marco, who was always communicative, and ready to gratify their curiosity by his descriptions of what he had seen, in the distant regions they had visited. As he usually spoke in round numbers of the immense wealth of the Khan, or Emperor, of Tartary, they gave him the name of Marco *Millioni*. In the time of Ramusio (about the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

middle of the sixteenth century), the Polo palace was still pointed out in the street of St. Chrysostom.*

Washington Irving, alluding to the effect produced on the public mind by the travels of these celebrated Venetians, as described by Marco Polo, says ;

"His splendid account of the extent, wealth, and population of the Tartar territories filled every one with admiration. The possibility of bringing all those regions under the dominion of the church, and rendering the Grand Khan an obedient vassal to the holy chair, was for a long time a favorite topic among the enthusiastic missionaries of Christendom, and there were many saints-errant who undertook to effect the conversion of this magnificent infidel. Even at the distance of two centuries, when the enterprises for the discovery of the new route to India had set all the warm heads of Europe madding about these remote regions of the East, the conversion of the Great Khan became again a popular theme ; and it was too speculative and romantic an enterprise not to catch the vivid imagination of Columbus. In all his voyages, he will be found continually to be seeking after the territories of the Grand Khan ; and even after his last expedition, when nearly worn out by age, hardships, and infirmities, he offered, in a letter to the Spanish monarchs, written from a bed of sickness, to conduct any missionary to the territories of the Tartar emperor, who would undertake his conversion." †

The story of the Zenos, (or *Zeni*, in the Italian plural,) who flourished a century after the Polos, is far less wonderful in its details, and, had it been published in their own age, would be entitled to no less credit. The family was one of high consideration in the Republic of Venice. Marino Zeno was the Venetian governor of Constantinople, in the year 1205 ; Riniero filled the office of Doge of his native city, from 1252 to 1268 ; and others of the family were elevated, from time to time, to various distinguished posts in the service of the state, both at home and abroad. The most brilliant in genius of all this noble race, and not less illustrious in his career than the rest, was Carlo Zeno, a brother of the navigators, whose valor and naval prowess, skilfully directed, saved the Republic in the famous war of Chiozza, which he brought to a close in the year 1380. Aided by powerful allies, and strengthened by the accession of large bodies of

* *Navigationi e Viaggi*, Tom. II. Prefatione.
† *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, Vol. II. p. 297. Appendix.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

condottieri, or mercenary troops, the Genoese had taken and occupied Chiozza, a considerable town in the Venetian territory, built on the lagoons, like Venice, and assailable only from the sea. After a long and vigorous siege, conducted with great spirit by the Venetian forces, chiefly under the direction of Carlo Zeno, the place was reduced, and the enemy compelled to capitulate unconditionally. This event raised Carlo to the highest distinction in the Republic, and added fresh lustre to his name, already honorably known in the public service.

The brothers of Carlo, who are stated by the Venetian writers to have anticipated Columbus, and forestalled the Genoese in relation to the glory of original discovery, as the former had deprived them of the credit of naval superiority, were named Nicolò and Antonio, both younger than Carlo, under whom they are supposed to have served in the wars of the Republic. Their discoveries are referred to the period immediately succeeding the termination of the war of Chiozza, from 1380 to 1400 ; but no account of them was published until the year 1558, more than a century and a half after they are supposed to have been made. The work was then printed at Venice, it is believed, under the direction of Nicolò Zeno, called the Younger, who was well known for his scientific attainments, and may be presumed to have drawn up the account from the materials in his possession. It was published by Marcolini, a noted bookseller at Venice, in an octavo volume, containing, also, the Travels of Caterino Zeno in Persia, an ambassador from the Venetian government to that country in 1473. The former is entitled, "Dello Scoprimento dell' isola Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrovelanda, Estotilanda, et Icaria, fatto per due fratelli Zeni, M. Nicolò, il Cavaliere, e M. Antonio." (The Discovery of the Islands of Frisland, Iceland, Greenland, Estotiland, and Icaria, made by two brothers Zeni, the Chevalier Nicholas and Antonio.) Both works were added to the edition of the second volume of Ramusio's collection of Voyages and Travels, published at Venice, in 1574.

The narrative commences in the following manner ;

"Or M. Nicolò il Cavaliere, come huom di alto spirito, doppo la sudetta guerra Genovese di Chioggia, che diede tanto da far ai nostri maggiori, entrò in grandissimo desiderio di veder il mondo, e peregrinare, e farsi capace di varij costumi, e di lin-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gue de gli huomini, acciò che con le occasioni poi potesse meglio far servigio alla sua patria, e a se acquistar fama e honore. La onde fatta e armata una nave delle sue proprie richezze che amplissime aveva, uscì fuori de i nostri mari, e passato lo stretto Gibilterra navigò alcuni dì per l' Oceano, sempre tenendosi verso la Tramontana con animo di veder l' Inghilterra e la Fiandra, dove, assaltato in quel mare da una gran fortuna, molti dì andò trasportato dalle onde e da' venti senza sapere, dove si fosse, quando finalmente scoprendo terra, nè potendo più reggersi contra quella fierissima burrasca, ruppe nell' Isola Frislanda, salvandosi gli huomini, e gran parte delle robbe, che erano su la nave, e questo fu l' anno mille e trecento e ottanta. Qui concorrendo gl' Isolani armati in gran numero assaltarono M. Nicolò, e i suoi, che tutti travagliati per la fortuna passata, non sapevano in che mondo si fossero, e per conseguente non erano atti a far un picciolo insulto, non che a difendersi gagliardamente, come il pericolo lo portava contra tali nimici ; e in ogni modo sarebbono stati mal menati, se la buona ventura non faceva, che casualmente si fosse trovato ivi vicino un Prencipe con gente armata, il quale inteso, che s' era rotta pur all' hora una gran nave nell' Isola, corse al romore, e alle grida, che si facevano contra i nostri poveri marinari, e cacciati via quelli del paese, parlò in Latino, e dimandò che genti erano, e di dove venivano, e saputo che venivano d' Italia, e che erano huomini del medesimo paese, fu preso di grandissima allegrezza. Onde, promettendo a ciascuno che non riceverebbono alcun dispiacere, e che erano venuti in luogo, nel quale sarebbono benissimo trattati, e meglio veduti, li tolse tutti sopra la sua fede. Era costui gran Signore, e possedeva alcune Isole dette Porlanda, vicine a Frislanda da mezzo giorno, le piu ricche e popolate di tutte quelle parti, e si chiamava Zichmni; e oltra le dette picciole Isole signoreggiava fra terra la Duchea di Sorani posta dalla banda verso Scotia."

" After the termination of the war of Chiozza, which gave our ancestors so much trouble, the Chevalier Nicolò, possessing an enterprising spirit, conceived a strong desire to see the world, and to acquaint himself by travel with the customs and languages of different nations; that, when occasion required, he might have it in his power to be of greater service to his country, and acquire for himself honor and fame. He therefore caused a ship to be built, and having equipped her at his own expense, as he possessed an ample fortune, he sailed out of our seas beyond the straits of Gibraltar, and directed his course to the north for many days, with the intention of visiting England and Flanders. But, encountering a violent storm, he was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tossed about upon the ocean by the winds and waves without knowing where he was, until he at length discovered land; and soon after, his ship, no longer able to withstand the fury of the tempest, was wrecked upon the island of Frisland. The crew were saved, together with most of the ship's lading. This occurred in the year 1380. In the mean time, the inhabitants of the island, collecting in considerable numbers, made an attack upon the Chevalier and his men; who, being exhausted by the hardships they had endured, and not knowing in what part of the world they had been thrown, were unable to oppose the slightest resistance, much less to defend themselves with the spirit the occasion required. They would have been treated, without doubt, in the most barbarous manner, had it not fortunately happened, that a powerful chieftain, with an armed force, was in their neighbourhood, who, learning that a large ship had been cast away upon the island, and hearing the noise and shouts of the inhabitants as they rushed upon our poor mariners, hastened forward, and putting the islanders to flight, inquired of the Venetians in Latin, of what nation they were, and whence they had come. When informed that they were from Italy, and natives of that country, he was filled with joy and surprise. Whereupon, promising them all that they should be well treated, and that no wrong should be done to them, he welcomed them to the country, and pledged his faith for their protection. He was a great lord, and possessed certain islands called Porlanda, lying on the south of Frisland, the richest and most populous of all in that quarter. His name was Zichmni, and besides the small islands already mentioned, he ruled over the Duchy of Sorani, situated towards Scotland."

We have given this extract from the original, with the literal translation that accompanies it, for the purpose of affording those of our readers who are not curious enough to hunt up the work itself, an opportunity of forming some opinion of the general character and style of the relation. It may be well to state here, that, at the period referred to in the foregoing account of the shipwreck of the Venetians, there flourished in that quarter, in the character of Earl of the Orkneys, a Scotish chieftain of the name of *Sinclair*, who is supposed by Reinhold Forster, and other writers, to have been the powerful prince who came to the relief of the distressed mariners. The latter is subsequently described as a man of warlike genius, engaged in many enterprises, and generally successful, especially upon the sea. The preceding year he had encountered and vanquished the king of Norway, to whose

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jurisdiction Frisland belonged, and he had now just landed on that island, for the purpose of adding it to his other conquests. Perceiving the Chevalier to possess judgment and understanding in relation to naval matters, Zichmni commissioned him to go with his men on board of his ships, and take the command.

The navy of this northern chief, or sea-king, consisted of thirteen vessels, two of which only were propelled with oars; of the others, one was a ship of considerable size, and the rest small barks. Sailing in a westerly direction, they took possession of several small islands, and, entering a bay called Sudero, they captured a number of fishing vessels, laden with salted fish, lying in the harbour of Sanestol. They soon after rejoined Zichmni, who, with his army, had advanced victoriously to a distant part of Frisland (an island somewhat larger than Ireland), until the inhabitants, coming in from all quarters, yielded the country into his hands. On learning how much benefit had been derived to his fleet from the valor and nautical skill and experience of the Venetians, who understood thoroughly the art of navigation, and had piloted the ships with entire safety among the islands, the chief sent for Nicolò, and after acknowledging his obligations for the important services he had rendered, conferred upon him the honor of knighthood, and distributed rich presents among his men. They soon after embarked for the principal town on the island, also named Frisland, situated upon one of the numerous gulfs that intersect the country. Immense quantities of fish, it is stated, are taken in these waters, and carried, for a market, to Flanders, Britain, Norway, and Denmark, with which a profitable trade is carried on.

Thus far, the writer of the account remarks, the facts it contains were derived from a letter written by the Chevalier Nicolò, to his brother Antonio, in which he requests him to find means to join him in Frisland. Whereupon the latter, having also a taste for adventure, purchased a vessel, and, embarking from Venice, succeeded in reaching Frisland, where he remained fourteen years. During this period, various enterprises were undertaken by Zichmni, in which one or both of the brothers were engaged. The first was against Estland, an island lying between Frisland and Norway, and subject to the latter. An attempt upon Iceland proved unsuccessful; but several other small islands situated in the same seas,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which are enumerated by name, were subdued. They were called, Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Damberc, and Bres. The Chevalier erected a fort on the island of Bres, and remained there until the following season, when he fitted out an expedition for the purpose of exploring the seas to the north. In the course of this voyage, he discovered Engroveland (Greenland), where he found a monastery of friars, and a church dedicated to St. Thomas, situated near the base of a volcanic mountain. Here were numerous hot springs, which afforded the monks the means of rendering their condition comfortable, although surrounded by the extreme rigors of eternal frost and snow. The water from these springs was conducted into the apartments of the monastery, and employed not only for cooking their food, but to diffuse warmth; and being introduced into their gardens, enabled them to cultivate a great variety of vegetables, fruits, and flowers. Their houses were built of pumice-stone, or lava, which proved a substantial and durable material. They were of a circular shape, having on the ground-floor a diameter of twenty-five feet, and tapering upwards, with an aperture at the top for the admission of light and air. In the summer, many vessels arrived there from the islands in the northern seas, from Norway, Suecia (Sweden), and, more than all, from Iceland. The inhabitants exchanged dried fish and peltry, for corn, woollen stuffs, and wood or timber. Their boats are described as being in shape like a weaver's shuttle, covered with skins, and rendered so impervious to water, that the boatmen may shut themselves within them, without fear from the violence of the waves. Such are some of the particulars related of Greenland, by the Chevalier Nicolò, to whom the severity of the climate proved ultimately fatal. He contracted an illness in that country, from exposure to the cold, which terminated his life soon after his return to Frisland. "He left behind him in Venice," says the account, "two sons, Giovanni, and Tomma, who also had two sons, namely, Nicolò, father of the famous Cardinal Zeno, and Pietro, from whom descended the other Zenos, that are living at this day."

At the time of his brother's death, Antonio had been four years in the service of the powerful Zichmni, who refused to allow him liberty of returning to Venice, after that event, notwithstanding the most urgent entreaty on his part. His

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

services were of too great importance to his patron, who had appointed him to the command of his ships, in place of the Chevalier. The remainder of the narrative purports to be derived from letters addressed by Antonio to his brother Carlo, in the course of which he gives the following account of the adventures of a fisherman in the west.

"According to the tale of this mariner, he had been one of a party who sailed from Frisland about twenty-six years before, in four fishing boats. Being overtaken by a violent tempest, they were driven about the sea for many days, until the boat, containing himself and six companions, was cast upon an island called Estotiland, about one thousand miles from Frisland. They were taken by the inhabitants, and carried to a fair and populous city, where the king sent for many interpreters to converse with them, but none that they could understand, until a man was found who had been likewise cast away upon the coast, and who spoke Latin. They remained several days upon the island, which was rich and fruitful, abounding with all kinds of metals, and especially gold. There was a high mountain in the centre, from which flowed four rivers, that watered the whole country. The inhabitants were intelligent, and acquainted with the mechanical arts of Europe. They cultivated grain, made beer, and lived in houses built of stone. There were Latin books in the king's library, though the inhabitants had no knowledge of that language. They had many cities and castles, and carried on a trade with Greenland for pitch, sulphur, and peltry. Though much given to navigation, they were ignorant of the use of the compass, and, finding the Frislanders acquainted with it, held them in great esteem; and the king sent them with twelve barks to visit a country to the south, called Drogeo. They had nearly perished in a storm, but were cast away upon the coast of that country. They found the people to be cannibals, and were on the point of being killed and devoured, but were spared on account of their great skill in fishing."

"The fisherman described this Drogeo as being a country of vast extent, or rather a new world; that the inhabitants were naked and barbarous; but that, far to the southwest, there was a more civilized region, and temperate climate, where the inhabitants had a knowledge of gold and silver, lived in cities, erected splendid temples to idols, and sacrificed human victims to them, which they afterwards devoured.

"After the fisherman had resided many years on this continent, during which time he had passed from the service of one chieftain to another, and traversed various parts of it, certain

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

boats from Estotiland arrived on the coast. The fisherman went on board of them, acted as interpreter, and followed the trade between the main land and Estotiland for some time, until he became very rich; he then fitted out a bark of his own, and, with the assistance of some of the people of the island, made his way back, across the thousand intervening miles of ocean, and arrived safe in Frisland."*

This relation of the fisherman, who had returned greatly enriched by his adventures, determined Zichmni to send an expedition to the countries he had discovered in the west, which Antonio Zeno was to command. But, just before sailing, the fisherman, who was expected to accompany them as pilot, died; but certain mariners, the companions of his return voyage from Estotiland, were taken in his place. The enterprise, however, proved unsuccessful; the only land they discovered, was an island, called Icaria, which is supposed to have been Newfoundland, from which they were repulsed by the natives, and, being afterwards driven upon the coast of Greenland, they effected their return in safety to Frisland. It does not appear that any further attempt was made to find Estotiland or Drogeo.

At another time, Antonio wrote again to his brother, but only a fragment of the letter was in existence when the work was published. Indeed, the whole account purports to have been put together from such imperfect portions of the correspondence as remained at that period. The editor, who is believed to have been a descendant of one of the navigators, remarks, that the manuscripts originally came into his hands when he was a child, and, not knowing what they were, he tore them in pieces as if they had been of little value,—a fate with which old papers too often meet. He afterwards collected such fragments as remained, being apprized of their contents, and disposed them in the best possible order.

The motives that led him to undertake the work, were of the most laudable character, as stated at the close,—"that the memory of so many good things might not be lost, and to satisfy the age, which had done so much in the way of discovery, and, being ever alive to the importance of new

* The above abstract of the fisherman's story we take from Irving's *Columbus*, Vol. II. p. 273. Appendix.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

relations, appreciated the discoveries made by the bold and sedulous exertions of our ancestors." *

The appearance of this work so long after the date of the discoveries it describes, seems not to have detracted essentially from its credibility at the period when it was published. It was generally received as a valuable contribution to the geography of the New World, to which the attention of all Europe was then strongly directed; for, though Columbus and his companions had made fully known what the story of the fisherman had dimly shadowed forth, the existence of rich countries in the southwest, it was otherwise with the north. After the utter extinction in Europe of all knowledge of the Scandinavian colonies, that had been planted at an extremely early period in Greenland, deep obscurity rested upon these regions, which the publication of the discoveries of the Zeni, as will hereafter appear, tended to dissipate.

But the publication excited still greater interest on account of the priority of discovery, or at least of knowledge, in relation to the New World, which it at once gave to the Venetians. The celebrated Flemish geographer, Ortelius, was the first to view it in this light. In the edition of his great work, "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," published in 1570, a few years only after the appearance of the account of the Zeni, he says, that all the writers of his time "ascribed the first discovery of the new world to Christopher Columbus, and that not unworthily; for by him it was in a manner first discovered, made known, and profitably communicated unto the Christian world. Howbeit, I find, that the north part thereof * * * was long ago found out by certain fishermen of the isle of Frisland, driven by tempest on the shore thereof; and was afterwards, about the year 1390, discovered anew by one Antonio Zeno, a gentleman of Venice." This, as remarked by Humboldt, was written almost in the lifetime of Bartholomew de las Casas, the celebrated contemporary of Columbus and Cortez. He adds, "*Ce jugement est beaucoup trop sévère.*"†

* The author of "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot" objects to the avowed motive of the editor, as if it were wrong to gratify "the prevailing appetite of the public for such works." A strange idea for so acute a writer.

† *Examen Critique*, Vol. II. p. 120. What, then, shall be said of the following remarks, contained in the great geographical work of *Mentelle, Malte*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hakluyt, whose famous collection of voyages was intended to contain every thing of an authentic character in relation to the New World, presented the entire account of the discoveries of the Zeni, in his third volume, published in 1600, with the following note ;

"For the more credit and confirmation of the former History of Messer Nicolas and Messer Antonio Zeni, (which for some few respects may perhaps be called in question,) I have here annexed the judgment of that famous cosmographer, Abraham Ortelius, or rather the yielding and submitting of his judgment thereunto ; who, in his *Theatrum Orbis*, fol. 6. next before the map of *Mar del Zur*, borroweth proof and authority out of this relation, to show, that the northeast part of America called Estotiland, and in the original always affirmed to be an island, was, about the year 1390, discovered by the aforesaid Venetian gentleman, Messer *Antonio Zeno*, about 100 years before ever Christopher Columbus set sail for these western regions ; and that the northern seas were even then sailed by our European pilots, through the help of the loadstone ; with divers other particulars concerning the customs, religion, and wealth of the southern Americans, which are most evidently confirmed by all the late and modern Spanish histories of Nueva España and Peru."

Another well known collector and compiler of similar works, Samuel Purchas, published an account of these discoveries in his "Pilgrims," with the following remarks ;

"This History I have thus inserted at large, which perhaps, not without cause in some things, may seem fabulous ; not in the Zeni, which they writ, but in the relations which they received from others. Howsoever, the best geographers are beholded to these brethren for that little knowledge they have of those parts, of which *none before had written*, nor since have there been any great inland discoveries."*

Notwithstanding, however, the inferences drawn by these eminent geographers, unfavorable to the originality of Columbus, from the voyages of the Venetian brothers, the work itself is unpretending in its character, and, although it was edited by one who had at heart the honor of his ancestors, as

Brun, and others, Tom. XIV. p. 8, note ; — "En un mot, Colomb n'est point du tout un génie transcendant, une espèce de prophète, qui ait deviné le nouveau monde ; c'est tout bonnement un navigateur instruit et courageux, c'est le *Cook* de son siècle. Son mérite réel est trop grand pour qu'il ait besoin d'une gloire imaginaire."—Columbus but the *Cook* of his age !

* Vol. III. p. 914.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he avows, in a passage already quoted, yet makes no claim for them to superiority of title as original discoverers. Says Humboldt,

"If, as Torfæus pretends, in the preface to his work on Vinland, the book of the Zeni was a fiction, designed to obscure the glory of Columbus, the editor would have endeavoured, without doubt, to connect the Venetian discoveries in some way with those of the Genoese navigator, at least with the northern discoveries of Cabot or Gomez. He would have insisted on the priority of the expedition of the Zeni to the shores of the New World; he would have said, that the later voyages to Florida and Mexico had proved how accurate was the statement of the fisherman of Frisland, in describing the 'new world' of Drogeo, in relation to the wealth and civilization of the people (in America) situated towards the south and southwest. The naked details, the absence of recrimination or offensive remarks, remove all suspicion of imposture; but the extreme confusion, that prevails in the numerical data of distances and sailing days, shows the want of order in the arrangement of the matter, and the sad condition of the manuscripts, which the heirs of the navigators acknowledge had been torn in fragments, without their value being known to them."*

Such was the undoubted credit which these discoveries enjoyed for a considerable period, that the chart accompanying them, purporting to have been originally drawn by the Chevalier Nicolò Zeno, and transmitted with his letters to Venice, was extensively copied, in reference to the north, by the map-makers in Europe. Estotiland was assigned to that part of North America remaining unexplored on the north, and Frisland was an island of goodly dimensions in the sixtieth degree of north latitude, not far distant from Engroveland. Sir Martin Frobisher, who sailed on his first voyage of discovery to the north, in 1576, and on the second the following year, mentions in his journal, on both occasions, that he beheld the coast of Frisland, which the ice prevented his approaching. It was soon found, however, that this navigator had mistaken Greenland for Frisland, and the coast of Labrador for Greenland, and that no island existed in those latitudes corresponding to the description of Frisland, unless it was Iceland itself. In other respects, the chart of Nicolò Zeno wanted confirmation, and suspicions began to arise that

* *Examen Critique*, Vol. III. pp. 122, 123.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all was not right. And when Hugo Grotius, in his treatise on the origin of the American people, traced their emigration from the continent of Europe to Iceland and *Frisland*, and remarked, that the latter was in the vicinity of Greenland, or formed a part of it, his opponent, De Laet, the Dutch geographer, in his caustic annotations upon the unsatisfactory essay of his celebrated countryman and contemporary, declares, "that the statements of the Zeni were justly regarded as of doubtful credit, for that nothing resembling their descriptions had been found in those regions." (Quæ autem Zenones illi Veneti prodiderunt suspectæ fidei merito habentur, neque hodie tale quid in illis regionibus deprehenditur, quale ipsi tradiderunt.)* In the course of time, the whole matter was denounced as a rank imposture, and all traces of the pretended discoveries, as laid down on the chart of Zeno, disappeared from the maps.

Such seems to have become the settled conviction of the public mind on this subject, until the publication of Reinhold Forster's well-known work, the "History of Discovery in the North," which appeared in 1784; a work of high reputation, containing an able vindication of the truth and authenticity of the voyages of the Zeni. This writer had enjoyed opportunities for acquiring practical experience as a navigator, having accompanied Captain Cook on his second voyage of discovery (1772–1775), which, united to uncommon attainments of a solid character, and a predilection for geographical studies, eminently fitted him for the investigation of such a question as the history of those voyages presented, and gave great weight to his opinion. He was soon after followed on the same side (to use a somewhat technical phrase) by H. P. Eggers, a Danish counsellor of state, in a memoir on ancient Greenland, read before a learned society at Copenhagen, and afterwards published, in 1792. In this essay (which we have not seen) we are given to understand, that the author did not attempt a formal defence of the discoveries of the Zeni, but confined himself to the removal of some of the objections that had been made against the credibility of the story, and explained many things previously regarded as insuperable obstacles to its reception. He also obtained from

* J. de Laet Antwerpiani, *Notæ ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii*, &c. (Amsterdam. 1643.) p. 20.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Venice a copy of the chart that had accompanied the original publication of the Discoveries, which he caused to be engraved for his work.*

But the most complete vindication of the Zeni, appears to have been made by Cardinal Zurla, (Vicar-General of the late Pope Leo the Twelfth,) himself a native of Venice, and distinguished for his learning and scientific attainments. He published, in 1808, "Dissertazione intorno ai Viaggi e Scoperte Settentrionali di Nicolò e Antonio Frat. Zeni;" and again, in 1818, he pursued the subject in a general work "upon the most illustrious Venetian travellers." Other eminent writers, within the present century, have espoused the same views of this interesting question, among whom may be mentioned Walckenaer, (author of "Géographie Moderne," 6 tomes,) Malte-Brun, the late Baron von Zach, and M. de la Roquette, one of the contributors to the "Biographie Universelle," and author of the article in that work relating to the brothers Zeni. In England, Barrow, Hugh Murray, and others, maintain the same ground.

The opposite view has, however, found of late a strenuous advocate among ourselves. The "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," a work of learning and talent, published a few years since, speaks of "that memorable fraud, the pretended voyage of Nicholas and Antonio Zeno"; in another passage, it applies the expression "rank imposture" to the account, and, again, speaks of "a complex piece of roguery running through the several editions of Ramusio," with reference to the same unoffending narra-

* On the subject of this Chart, an error of some magnitude exists in the Appendix to Irving's *Columbus*, Vol. II. p. 275. The passage is as follows; — "M. Malte-Brun intimates, that the alleged discovery of Vinland may have been known to Columbus when he made a voyage in the North Sea, in 1477, and that the map of Zeno, being in the national library at London, in a Danish work, at the time when Bartholomew Columbus was in that city, employed in making maps, he may have known something of it, and have communicated it to his brother." The Danish work referred to by Malte-Brun, as containing a copy of the chart of the Zeni, is that of Eggers, which, as it was first published in 1792, could not well have been seen by Bartholomew Columbus in the "national library at London." Malte-Brun simply states, that a copy of Eggers's work, with the chart, was in the national (now the Royal) library at Paris, in his time. If there had been such an institution at London as the "National Library," it would be difficult to understand, how a copy of Zeno's chart could have been there in the time of Columbus, when the original was yet buried in the family archives at Venice, among the forgotten and neglected papers of the navigators. — *Géographie Universelle*, Tom. XIV. p. viii. note. *Ibid.* Tom. II. p. 284.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tive. These are serious charges, especially when they are made to bear, with concentrated force, on the head of the hapless bookseller, Marcolini, to whom the "Memoir" attributes the authorship, or rather the forgery, of the work in question. But it must be borne in mind, that the Memoir is a zealous vindication of the claims of *Sebastian Cabot* to the merit of having first discovered the American continent, and that, if the genuine character of the discoveries of the Zeni be admitted, there is an end to those claims. And if the Zeni are disposed of in this work with a very summary condemnation, observing readers will not fail to be put upon their guard, when they remember the freedom with which the same writer occasionally treats the labors of Hakluyt, Purchas, and others of the diligent and painful collectors of the world's discovery and history.

But let us examine for a moment the argument of the "Memoir," and see what ground there is for the strictures to which we have referred. The gist of the matter is contained in the following passage from that work.

"The Dedication of this work [the Discoveries of the Zeni], as originally published by Marcolini, bears date December, 1558. Ramusio died in July, 1557; and of course it is impossible that it could have been published by him, or that he could have marked it for insertion. It does not appear in the Ramusio of 1559, but was *interpolated* into the second volume in 1574, seventeen years after his death. *This circumstance is decisive against its authenticity.* Ramusio, a native of Venice, was not only a diligent and anxious collector of voyagers, but, it appears by his work, was familiar with the family of the Zeni of that city, and he speaks with pride of the adventurous Travels of Caterino Zeno in Persia. Had the materials for such a narrative existed, he would have eagerly seized the opportunity of embodying them, and it is plain, that the imposture dared not make its appearance in his lifetime. Yet, from the subsequent *interpolation*, this tract, by almost unanimous consent, has been considered to bear the high sanction of Ramusio's name." — pp. 322, 323.

So far as respects the impropriety of claiming the authority of Ramusio for the publication, there can be no doubt. He died, as stated, before the work appeared. But the "Memoir" neglects to add, that the second volume of Ramusio's collection was not published until after his death, the first and third only having appeared in his lifetime. But the second volume

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was not without a responsible editor and publisher ; Tomaso Giunti, an intimate friend of Ramusio, performed the duties of both. His Preface to the volume bears date March 9th, 1559 ; and as the Preface to the Discoveries is dated the preceding December, only two or three months before, it is probable, that both works appeared at about the same time. The same editor, in a subsequent edition of the second volume of Ramusio, inserted the Discoveries, so that they came honestly enough into that work, although not placed there by Ramusio himself.

It has been already stated, that the Travels of Caterino Zeno, the ambassador in Persia, were published in the same volume with the Discoveries ; why was this work excluded from the first edition of Ramusio's collection, if the latter had so great a desire to extend the fame of the Zeno family, as assumed in the "Memoir ?" The apology Ramusio makes for the omission, is a singular one ; the work had been before printed, and the worthy compiler says, he was once so fortunate as to obtain a copy of it, but that, by some chance, it had got mislaid. It is strange, that so "diligent and anxious a collector," especially when animated by a particular regard for the family whose fame would be promoted by the publication, could not have procured another copy of the book, or at least obtained the materials for some notice of the adventures of the noble knight, when the editor of the Discoveries was enabled, so soon after the death of Ramusio, to publish an account of them. But Ramusio's alleged familiarity with, and great regard for, the family of the Zeni, is a gratuitous assumption on the part of the "Memoir" ; there is no evidence to sustain it.

Giunti's edition of Ramusio, in 1574, contains not only the Discoveries of Nicolò and Antonio, but the Travels of Caterino, so that a double "interpolation" was effected, which bears as strongly against the authenticity of the latter, as of the former, except that Ramusio mentions the Travels, and assigns a frivolous excuse for not publishing them. But these were not the only "interpolations" made in that edition of the second volume ; no less than three other works were inserted in it, which were not contained in the previous editions ; —a most flagrant breach of honest editorship on the part of Tomaso Giunti, truly, and, according to the "Memoir," enough to destroy all claims to authen-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ticity those works might otherwise possess. However, the editor, between whom and Ramusio, as the former feelingly states in the Preface to the volume in question, there existed a strong and uninterrupted attachment of many years' standing, (*grande amore continuamente per lungo spatio d' anni,*) might console himself under the charge of adulterating the work of his friend, by pointing to the title-page of the volume, where, as usual in such cases, the reader is forewarned, that it is "a new edition enlarged" (*accresciuto*), of a work "originally compiled" (*raccolto già*), by Giovanni Battista Ramusio; and, if this were not enough, he might refer the captious critic to the table of contents, in which the additions to the volume are distinctly set forth, so that, if he chose, on making the discovery, he might shut the book at once, and demand an uncorrupted copy, — a Ramusio, a whole Ramusio, and nothing but Ramusio, under the pains and penalties against "interpolation" and "imposture"!

But we pass from this. The Cabots, who were also a Venetian family,* possess sufficient claims to the grateful remembrance of posterity, without subtracting from the well-earned laurels of any of their countrymen; and, whatever may be thought of the pretensions of the noble brothers, it is evident enough, that they cannot be seriously affected by either the arguments, or the unceremonious language, of the "Memoir" in question.

The most formidable assailant of the Venetian title to the discovery of the new world, is yet to be named. The Essay of Captain Zahrtmann, of the Danish Navy, originally published in the Transactions of the Royal Antiquarian Society at Copenhagen (in 1833), and subsequently communicated to the London Geographical Society, is by far the ablest attempt ever made, to shake the authority of the voyages of the Zeni. We must say, that our first impressions, after perusing that masterly production, were so strong against even the possible truth of the account, that we well nigh resolved to abandon the matter as beyond all hope of surgery, without bestowing another thought upon it. The writer brings such a mass of *primâ facie* proof to bear upon the subject, and discovers so many loose points and apparent inconsistencies in the story, that the argument comes upon one with the

* Sebastian, it appears, had his birth in England.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

force of demonstration. At the same time, the perfect freedom of the paper from vituperative remark, and the admirable coolness, as well as skill, with which the operator dissects his victim, are far from diminishing the effect produced upon the mind. A more careful examination, however, of this elaborate effort from the pen of so profound a scholar has suggested several ideas that detract, to some extent, from the conclusive character of the argument, and leave a ray of hope to the sanguine admirers of Venetian prowess.

The first position of Captain Zahrtmann is as follows ;— "That there never existed an island of Frisland, but that what has been represented by that name in the Chart of the Zeni, is the Ferroë Islands." ("1. Der har aldrig existeret noget Frisland, men det, der under dette Naven er afbildet paa Zeniernes Kaart er Foeraerne.")

The identity of Frisland with the Ferroë islands seems to be generally admitted by the later writers, including those who defend the genuineness of the account. The name is supposed to be a southern corruption of *Ferrisland*, or Ferris islands, by which they were known to the Danes and English of the Middle Ages. This is a suggestion of Eggers, adopted by Malte-Brun. It was the opinion of Reinhold Forster, in which he was followed by Dr. Belknap, the American historian,* that the Frisland of the Zeni had disappeared from the surface of the ocean in one of those submarine, volcanic convulsions, that sometimes occur in the northern seas, especially upon the coast of Iceland. Other writers have maintained the same opinion. A leading English Review, in describing an ancient artificial globe, the first ever made in England, has the following observations on this subject ; "On this sketch, we see with pleasure the Drogeo and the Frisland of the two noble Venetians, the Zeni ; we observe the latter where it always was, and still is, at the southern extremity of Greenland, a little above the sixtieth parallel of latitude, still holding its head above water, in spite of the volcanos and the earthquakes created by the Duke of Almadover and Delisle, the Abbé Zurla and Signor Amoretti, to overwhelm it in the ocean." † As these different hypotheses distinctly admit, that such a locality as Frisland

* *American Biography*, Vol. I. p. 67.
† *London Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVI. p. 165.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

once existed, we shall not stop to examine them at the present time.

But there is on record one unquestionable recognition of the name of Frisland, that has not a little puzzled the disbelievers of the Zenonian discoveries, and is well worthy of the most weighty consideration under this head. We refer to the following passage from the "Life of Columbus," written by his son, Fernando.

"In a memorial or annotation which he [Columbus] made, demonstrating and proving, by the experience of navigators, that all the five zones are habitable, he says; 'I navigated, in 1477, in the month of February, 100 leagues beyond the island of Thule, the southern part of which is distant from the equator 73 degrees, and not 63, as some will have it; neither does it lie within the line that includes the west of Ptolemy, but is much more westerly. And to this island, which is as large as England, the English go with their merchandise, especially those from Bristol. And at the time I went there, the sea was not frozen, though the tides were so great, that in some places they rose 26 braccia, and fell as many. The truth is, that the Thule, which Ptolemy makes mention of, lies where he says, *and this by the moderns is called* FRISLAND.'"*

It is a little singular, that Irving, in citing the above passage,† should omit the last sentence, of which he takes no notice in his subsequent remarks upon the voyages of the Zeni. Captain Zahrtmann contends, that it refers to Iceland, which he supposes to have been known to the southern navigators under the name of Frisland. It is conceded, therefore, that the name of Frisland was in use in the south of Europe, applied to an island in the northern seas, and was so employed by Columbus himself. This is an important point gained in favor of the account of the Venetian brothers. The question, as to its particular application, is one of subordinate importance, and need not detain us at the present time.

The second position of Captain Zahrtmann is the following;—"That the Chart of the Zeni has been compiled

* *London Atheneum*, No. 514, (1837.) The above is declared to be a literal translation from the original edition of Fernando's biography of his father.

† *Life of Columbus*, Vol. I. p. 29. Irving translates *braccia*, "fathoms"; but the former measure only about twenty-three inches.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from hearsay information, and not by any seaman who had himself navigated in those seas for several years." ("2. Dette kaart er sammendraget efter Sagn, men ei af nogen Soemand, der selv i flere Aar havde befaret dette farvand.")

The criticisms of our author on the Chart of the Zeni are acute, and apparently in some respects well-founded. The date of 1380, which it bears, was unquestionably placed there by the editor, and is admitted by Cardinal Zurla to be a probable error. The voyage is to be dated, without doubt, eight or ten years later, as the Chevalier Nicolò was still at Venice in 1388, as appears from the annals of the Republic, when he was appointed to an office of considerable importance. He is supposed by Captain Zahrtmann to have been at that period sixty years of age; but this is only conjecture, founded on the fact that he was the oldest son, and that his father was married in 1326; whence our author infers that Nicolò was born in 1328. This may be a common course of things, but it is by no means invariable.

The principal evidence that the Chart was a compilation of the sixteenth century, is derived from its agreement with the maps of that period in the peculiar location of the Orcades, or Orkneys, on the coast of Norway, far distant from Scotland, and in the correctness with which Norway and Denmark are laid down, the proper position of which was never understood in the south of Europe till the publication of Olaus Magnus's map of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, in 1539. But it is admitted by our author, that the materials for constructing some portions of the Chart, which are found to be surprisingly accurate, did not exist in any publication prior to the appearance of the Discoveries of the Zeni, in 1558. This accords also with the statement of Purchas, already cited, in respect to Greenland and the American coast. So far, therefore, there was no compilation, unless the information was obtained by oral communication, and to this supposition Captain Zahrtmann is compelled to resort. He says,

"With respect to the general outline of Greenland, it is more correct than any known chart published before the sixteenth century. This would be a strong proof of the genuineness of the chart and of the voyage, if Nicolò Zeno the younger, had not, in 1558, any other authorities from which to lay down Greenland, than the common maps of that period.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But it is easy to find reasons which make it highly probable that he had verbal sources of better information, and quite certain that he was able to avail himself of written sources not generally known."

The learned author then proceeds to say, that Nicolò, the younger, (the supposed editor of the Discoveries of his ancestors) was regarded by his countrymen as the greatest geographer of his time, and that he might have obtained correct information respecting the topography of the north from certain Catholic priests then residing in Italy, who had been banished from the northern countries. But this is conjecture, and, although sufficiently ingenious, and, it may be, plausible, can pass for nothing more. It supposes, however, that a man, respected by his fellow-citizens for his distinguished scientific attainments, (and at that period geographical science was in higher repute than almost any other branch of knowledge,) condescended to apply his superior learning to the composition of a fraudulent work, which, instead of taking the credit to himself of the original information it contained, he palmed off upon the world as the production of one of his remote ancestors! Surely the name of Zeno, at Venice, needed no such factitious reputation to render it conspicuous. What motive, then, can be assigned for such folly as is thus attributed to an honored descendant of that proud family? We pause for a reply.

But in respect to the character of Nicolò, the younger, we shall not allow our nautical critic to blow hot and cold in the same breath; in one passage, to give the noble Venetian the benefit of the respectability he enjoyed as a man of science, and in another, when it better suits the drift of his argument, to deny him the favorable estimation of learned men among his contemporaries. We refer to the intimation, that Ramusio did not esteem him as trustworthy on the subject of his ancestral history, — that he "doubted his veracity," and for that reason excluded from his great work both the Discoveries, and the Travels of Caterino, the ambassador. It is also insinuated by our author, that a high compliment, bestowed on the younger Nicolò by Patrizi, another learned contemporary, with reference to his historical knowledge, was intended to be ironical. Of course, these imputations are designed to lead to the conclusion, that the standing of the editor of the Discoveries was none of the best; and that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it is possible he might have been guilty of fraud and imposture.

But there is no good reason for supposing, that Nicolò the younger was distrusted by Ramusio, or equivocally praised by Patrizi. In order to lay a foundation for the former supposition, Captain Zahrtmann is under the necessity of making a conjectural emendation of the text of Ramusio, which, in our opinion, is not required by the sense of the passage; and, to establish the second, he allows nothing for the apparent exaggeration (to a northern ear) characterizing the complimentary style of Italy. Moreover, Patrizi was not alone among his contemporaries in bestowing the meed of praise upon the younger Zeno; "plusieurs écrivains Venitiens * * * en font le plus grand éloge," says Roquette; and even the State, out of respect to his talents and scientific attainments, caused his portrait to be drawn by Paul Veronese, to adorn the hall of the public councils. He also filled a distinguished place in the magistracy of the Republic. Although termed the Younger, for distinction's sake, it is known, that he was born in the year 1515, and was consequently in the forty-fourth year of his age, at the time when the Discoveries of his ancestors were first published. He died at Venice on the 10th of August, 1565.

It is not improbable that Nicolò, the younger, objected to the publication of the Discoveries in Ramusio's collection, preferring that they should form, together with the Travels of Caterino, a distinct and independent volume. Family pride, or some other cause not now known, might have led to this determination. The supposition is countenanced, to say the least, by the fact, that the second edition of Ramusio's second volume, which appeared in 1564, did not contain those works, although edited by Giunti, who inserted them in the next edition (1574) after Zeno's death. Sixteen years had then elapsed since their first publication in a separate form; — a period long enough, one would suppose, for a prudent editor, anxious to insert nothing in the great work of his deceased friend that could be deemed of doubtful credit, to ascertain the reputation the book had acquired in the learned world. So that, on the whole, whether the Discoveries had been originally excluded by Ramusio, or the editor of his posthumous volume, or their insertion objected to by Zeno, the younger, the republication of them in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a subsequent edition of that collection, in an open and responsible manner, several years after the death of Zeno, the supposed fabricator, is decisive of the favorable estimation in which they were then held, not only at Venice, but throughout Europe.*

Having thus examined some of the points attempted to be established by Captain Zahrtmann, under the first and second heads of his discourse, in which we have anticipated the fourth and last (charging upon Zeno, the younger, the compilation of the work from materials that reached Italy in his own day), we shall offer a few remarks, in conclusion, on the subject of the alleged fictitious character of the details of the account, which forms the burden of his third proposition.

It is well known that the early travellers of all countries are proverbially famed for the extraordinary character of their relations. Indeed, it seems to have been expected that the traveller, as well as the poet, should have his license, and draw upon the resources of his imagination. Their tales were listened to, with not the less "greedy ear" by the astonished multitude, even if they sometimes transcended the bounds of probability, and, like Othello, (another Venetian hero, by the way, though not "of Venice born,") talked of "men, whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders." Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville doubtless, to some extent, indulged this caprice; and, substantially correct as their accounts are found to be, in the main, they are not free from the defects to which we have alluded. Had they given a strictly accurate account of what they personally observed in the course of their travels, without trusting to hearsay, or painting with the colors of fanciful exaggeration, their admirers would have been fewer in number, and their celebrity less widely extended. This they probably well understood. That the Zeni, or their editor, may have fallen into the same error, is not improbable, and we presume will not be denied by their most strenuous advocates. Take, for example, the descrip-

* Marcolini, the original publisher of the Discoveries of the Zeni, and Giunti, who published and afterwards edited Ramusio, were rivals in business at Venice. *En passant*, Mr. Irving makes Marcolini not only the editor or author of the Discoveries (it does not appear which), but also a kinsman of the Zeni; and, if the former statement were correct, the latter would necessarily follow, from some expressions in the account. Both suppositions, however, are uncalled for, and highly improbable.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of the Monastery of St. Thomas, in Greenland. This, according to Captain Zahrtmann, "bears the most evident marks of fiction." "As to the volcanos and hot springs," he says, "which served to warm the houses, to cook the victuals, and to make the fruits of the south thrive in the latitude of 74°, I do not think this part of the romance worth refutation." The latitude of Cape Farewell is but 60° ; this, however, is of slight moment, as the climate is rigorous enough even there, to answer all the purposes of the critic. The entire improbability of this part of the story does not appear to us well established. Some of the details may be exaggerated, but there is nothing very strange in the convenient adaptation of boiling water to culinary purposes, either directly, or by evaporation, or in the idea of heating apartments by the same means. Hot water stoves are not unknown in our day. The boiling springs of Iceland are well known to be used for domestic purposes. "We see no reason," say our foreign brethren, already cited, "to disbelieve (as some affect to do) the fact stated by Nicolò Zeno, of the friars of the Monastery of St. Thomas warming their rooms, cooking their victuals, and watering their gardens from a spring of hot water ; such things are known to exist, and what should prevent these friars in that dreadfully cold region from availing themselves of an article so obviously useful and effectual ?"*

But the incredulity of Captain Zahrtmann, in regard to this matter, is shown to be quite unreasonable, by the following statement of Humboldt, which is sufficiently conclusive ; "One would suppose, that the Convent, described so minutely by the brothers Zeni, had suggested the plan of the extensive heating establishment at Chaudes Aigues, in the department of Cantol, where the fountain of Par distributes warmth among several hundred houses at the same time, and also answers the purposes of domestic economy. At the baths of Toplitz, in Bohemia, *the gardens begin to derive a benefit from the effect of warm subterranean waters.*" †

* *London Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVI. p. 165. They add, "There is one simple fact mentioned by Nicolò Zeno, which no man in the fourteenth century could know or imagine, who had not lived among the Esquimaux ; 'Their boats,' he says, 'are framed of the bones of fishes, and covered with their skins ; and they are shaped *like a weaver's shuttle*' ; — a description so just, and a resemblance so perfect, that, from that time to this, it has been adopted by every succeeding voyager."

† *Examen Critique*, Tom. II. p. 127, note.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Other parts of the narrative, pronounced with so much confidence, by our author, to be only "a tissue of fiction," may, perhaps, be found equally susceptible of explanation. But we have already extended this article far beyond the limits originally intended, and must hasten to a conclusion. A further discussion of the subject is promised in a work now in the progress of publication at Copenhagen, on the monuments of ancient Greenland, which will unquestionably throw much new light upon it. In the mean time, we intend to hold our minds open to conviction, instead of coming to a hasty decision in a question of so much importance, involving the honor of a noble house, and the glory of an ancient republic. But we are free to acknowledge, that, so far as we have been enabled to pursue our investigations, with the dim light afforded to us by the few authorities on the subject within our reach, our convictions are unequivocally favorable to the substantial truth of the relation of the noble brothers; — convictions, that, we trust, for the honor of our common nature, and the fame of that venerable commonwealth, may be hereafter fully confirmed.

ART. IX. — 1. *L' Ildegonda e la Fuggitiva, Novelle Romantiche di Tommaso Grossi.* Firenze: 1825.
2. *I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata, Canti Quindici di Tommaso Grossi.* Milano: 1829.
3. *Ulrico e Lida, Novella di Tommaso Grossi.* Napoli: 1837.
4. *L' Esule di Pietro Giannone.* Parigi: 1830.
5. *Poesie di Giovanni Berchet.* Londra: 1827.

THERE are six great highways across the ridge of the Alps. From the Alps to the ocean, it is but a journey of three days. The Sirius and the Great Western have stretched a long bridge across the ocean, and the old world has shaken hands with the new. The bulletins of the French legions in Africa reach Paris in two days. Fresh figs from Smyrna are served on the tables of London. Queen Victoria crowns her head with flowers from a green-house of New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Yet steam-engines are only an infant discovery. It will not be long, and we may live to witness the time, when all Europe shall be but one vast city, and the United States a pretty suburb just across the ferry; when, like Philip, we shall say to our children, "Seek for another world; this earth is too narrow for you!"

Books, the first movers, perhaps, of this rapid whirling of men and things, do not circulate with the astonishing speed of other articles of luxury. Learning sails on a heavy-laden ship, encumbered with a weighty ballast of pedantry. We want oranges and pineapples from the tropics, ice and furs from the poles. Books grow in all climates; every country has but too many of its own. Oppressed with business at home, we have no time to think of our neighbours. Our literary reputations are confined within the limits of our district. In days of darkness, Petrarch was received in triumph, as a prophet, wherever he moved; in our days, the notoriety of Byron in Venice was owing to his handsome face, and to the singularity of his manners. Many a school-book, on the old continent, is still teaching that Florida is a province of Spain, Louisiana a French colony. To them the capital of the Union is still Philadelphia. Boston is very seldom heard of; Pittsburg and Buffalo never. On the other side, nothing comes here from Naples except maccaroni; Parma is known only for its exquisite cheese. Many ask whether the Pope is the king of Italy; and we have heard of a lady who, with earnest conviction, numbered the Italian among the dead languages. Alas! ignorance is much more vast than the ocean!

Few modern languages, however, are more generally studied than the Italian. Whether this is to be attributed to its velvet smoothness, or to the general persuasion of its easy acquisition, or to the general diffusion of the music of Bellini, it is certain, that, in all Europe, that language ranks with the English in its commercial, the German in its literary, and the French in its diplomatic and choregraphic importance. The ladies of the eastern cities of America are rivalling Europe in this, as in other branches of literary culture. One hundred young men are annually trained to the acquirement of it in Harvard College. All persons, who have any pretension to learning, have, more or less, had something to do with Italian.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But, although few share now the opinion of the good lady, that twenty-two millions of people cannot keep a language alive, it is a general persuasion, received and accredited among sensible persons, that the literature of that country is dead, and that Italy, exhausted with the productions of five centuries, by which she has waked her rude neighbours into literary life, is resting now under the shade of her laurels, and surveying the youthful efforts of England and Germany, like a superannuated wrestler, with downcast brow and folded arms, looking upon the feats of his disciples from the head of the circus.

In calling the attention of American readers to books, which have never reached or never circulated among them, it is our purpose to give some general views of the direction that literary studies are taking in Italy; to point out how far the influence of German and English literature acts upon the productions of that land, accustomed to exert, not to obey, influence, and what important revolutions are going forward in the taste and genius of a nation, whose creative power can never be extinguished, whose genius is indigenous, and whose resources are inexhaustible as its soil; which has successively nourished generations of Gauls, Romans, and Greeks; of Goths, Vandals, and Lombards; of Spaniards and Frenchmen; and which is now but too rich and luxuriant for Croats and Hungarians.

Italy is, in modern civilization, the eldest of countries. Laboring under the miseries of decrepitude, she exhibits, in her outward aspect, the long ravages of age. The sea has receded from her coasts; several of her noblest harbours have been dried up and deserted. The discords of her former republics, the inroads of Moors and pirates, and the improvidence of her successive governments, have turned into swamps her flourishing shores and the shores of her islands. The clearing of woods in the mountains has let in the winds of the north, and sprinkled with hoary frost the fair hair of her Apennines. War and earthquakes, all the scourges of heaven, have desolated, demolished, buried her cities. Invasions, migrations, the crossing of races, have degraded her character, eclipsed her grandeur, obliterated her name. Rome and Ravenna, Pavia, Venice, and Pisa, by turns queens and empresses, lie now inglorious and senseless, like spectre cities, the grass growing in their wide streets, the moss creep-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing over the marble of their tottering palaces. Ruins of forums and aqueducts, arches of bridges and mausoleums, Gothic castles and temples, nunneries, dungeons, Madonnas, and Venuses, the wrecks of all worships and governments, the pride of all rulers and conquerors, all crushed in a common heap, mouldering in a general dissolution;—such has been, and, to a certain extent, such is, Italy. But among those ruins a few warm, confiding hearts may be seen, impatient of that lingering decay, hastening the work of time, trampling those remains with disdain, to level them to the ground, a basis for new edifices; young believers, firm in the opinion of an approaching redemption, persuaded, that, like Tithonus of the fable, Italy is doomed to old age, not to death; young thinkers, exulting in the eternal reproduction of all things, pointing to Leghorn and Trieste, new towns rising and thriving as the old decline; the vale of the Po inheriting the ever smiling fertility of Apulia and Campania; the Lombard character, strengthened and ennobled in proportion to the relaxation of the Roman and Tuscan; the elements of Italy in ages to come.

The romantic literature in that land is the representative of this spirit of regeneration. Literature is not politics; but the highest and dearest patriotic feelings are very often, if not essentially, its main resource. Poetry and eloquence may grow independent of all forms of governments; but they always receive a decisive impulse from the established orders of society, and exert upon them a strong reaction. Literature is not politics. The air of liberty is not so essential to the budding of genius, as the spring breeze to the opening of flowers. Byron was born in England, rocked in the cradle of freedom; Schiller was bred up in Austria, fed upon errors and prejudices. But letters and arts want excitement; they can sail with all winds, but not without wind. The mind expands in proportion to its own exertion. Give a genius passion and movement, delirium and fever, anxiety and suffering; let the mountain stream madden through rocks and over precipices, dash and foam against bridges and dikes; but let it not exhaust its might on the plain, to stagnate in marshes and mire.

The regeneration which is now in progress in Italy, although in great part of a political cast, does not depend on political vicissitudes. Whether the petty fragments, into

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which the nation is dismembered, will feel, at a future day, the want of a federative bond, or whether the sighed-for union shall be the work of the daring ambition of one of her national princes, or of the cautious cupidity of Austria, or whether, in a general convulsion of Europe, her children shall raise a unanimous cry for emancipation; one fact is unquestionable, — that Italy is rising to action. It is not there a question of democracy or aristocracy, of reforms or constitutions. It is a question of existence. The revolution of Italy is not to be effected by sects and conspiracies, not by fortuitous incidents of wars, or changes of dynasties; it must arise from the recasting of individual character, from the enlightened resentment of masses, from the sympathy of an immense, compact population, from the resources of a rich soil, from the seeds sown by a liberal, refined civilization, developed in several unsuccessful attempts, and only strengthened by senseless persecutions.

Few countries have, in the course of the last fifty years, — we mean in the age of Napoleon, — undergone a more total revolution than Italy. Her political divisions and boundaries are, indeed, nearly the same, with the exception, perhaps, of Venice and Genoa, the last leaves hanging on a withered branch, destined to drop at the first blast of November; but all the notions, the morals, the passions, the prejudices and superstitions, the popular festivals, games, and spectacles, have either been entirely abolished, or changed in their nature and object, or have given place to others of an entirely opposite character. From the days of Charles the Fifth to the end of the last century, under the direct or indirect influence of Spaniards and Austrians, Italy had fallen from her former importance, unaware of what she lost. Persuaded of her beneficent influence on the general course of modern civilization, she relied upon the gratitude of all nations. Milan and Naples, the most important states of the Peninsula, indeed, had fallen a prey to strangers. But the Lion of Venice still braved the Crescent by land and sea; the Dukes of Savoy laid their glove in the balance of Europe, formidable allies and adversaries. Spain and Austria trembled at every starting of the populace of Naples and Genoa. Rome had laid aside her sword, but ruled the world by the crosier; Florence had bent to the Medici, but dictated laws and manners by letters and arts. Besides, her sky smiled as brightly as ever, her climate was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as mild. A privileged land, removed from all cares of political existence, Italy went on with dances and music, happy in her ignorance, sleeping in the intoxication of uninterrupted prosperity. Accustomed to the scourges of invasion, passive in all the rivalries among her neighbours, used to suffer and to forget, she consoled herself for the evils inflicted by foreigners upon her sons, with the old saying, that her land was destined to be the tomb of her conquerors. The first spring shower washed away the blood with which the invaders had stained the green enamel of her plains; the first harvest, luxuriant from a soil enriched by French and German corpses, made up for the dearth occasioned by the waste of a hungry soldiery; and the sons of the South took up again their guitars, wiped away their tears, and sang anew, like a cloud of sparrows when the tempest is over.

Such were not the consequences of the late wars; her neighbours were envious of that uninterrupted enjoyment; the serpent intruded himself into the Eden of Europe. The French philosophers persuaded the Italians they were too happy; and they envied the tempests of France, as if tired of happiness. The French, wanting aid from every quarter, hailed the awakening of Italy. They gave her a standard; they girt her sons with the weapons of war; they seated them in senates and parliaments. They dusted the iron crown of the Lombards, and placed it on the brow of one of her islanders. The Italians started up. They believed; they followed; they fought. Deceived by the French, they turned to the Austrians; betrayed by the Austrians, they came back to the French. It was a succession of deception and perfidy, of blind confidence and disappointment; and when, weary, dejected, and ravaged, they lay down, abandoned to their bitter reflections, an awful truth shone in its full evidence, the only price for torrents of blood, — that, beyond the Alps, they had nothing but enemies. The reaction was long and severe. To these few years of raving intoxication, lethargy succeeded, and nothingness. The sword was taken from the side of the brave; the lips of the wise were closed; the name of Italy was proscribed. All was settled, and silenced, and fettered, but thought. Thought remained, anxious, sleepless, rebellious; with a grim, severe monitor behind, — Memory; and a rosy, seducing Syren before, — Hope, always within his reach, always re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ceding from his embrace; and he sat a tyrant of the soul, preyed upon the heart of the young, of the brave, of the lovely, choosing his victims with the cruel sagacity of the vampyre; and he strewed their couches with thorns, and sprinkled their feasts with poison, and snatched from their hands the cup of pleasure. "Italians," he said, "remember what you have been, what you are, what you must be. Is it thus, on the dust of heroes, is it in the fairest of lands, that you drag on days of abjectness? Will you never afford a better spectacle to the nations, than masquerades and processions of monks? Will you never go out among strangers except as fiddlers and limners? England and France are subduing deserts and oceans; Germany flourishes in science and letters. The sons of the North are snatching from your hands the sceptre of the arts. What is to become of Italy? Shall her name be buried under these ruins, to which you cling with the fondness of a nobleman, prouder of the armorial bearings and portraits of his ancestors, in proportion as he degenerates from them? Shall it be said of her sons, that they have made their own destiny, and they groan under a yoke they have merited?"

Such is the bitter chagrin to which the Italians have been left, from the ephemeral excitement arising from the revolutionary ideas of the late convulsions of Europe. The nation at large has assumed a serious and sullen countenance. The revels of the carnivals have lost their attraction; that slow and silent disease, that atrabilious frenzy, — politics, pervades all ranks, exhibiting a striking contrast with the radiant and harmonious gayety of heaven and earth. Morals gain by that melancholy mood. Studies are pursued with incredible eagerness, and come off conquerors over all obstacles raised against them.

Unfortunately the rulers have not been capable of justly appreciating the new ideas and wants of the age. Instead of encouraging those awakening energies, and directing them to noble pursuits, they have been alarmed at the prevailing restlessness of mind; they have apprehended in it the germs of social dissolution. Since their restoration, they have laid aside their wonted clemency, and have consequently roused a spirit of opposition. The march of their government is checked at every step. In every debate, public opinion always declares against power. From the smug-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gler of the mountains to the ringleader of the university, the most daring transgressor is ever the idol of the multitude. In every district, that deplorable contest is more or less openly waged. The skirmishes are short, the field of battle is narrow, but the exasperation is immense. Unfortunately, the dungeon, exile, and the scaffold have been resorted to. Blood has been lavishly shed ; it has raised an insurmountable barrier against all possible reconciliation ; it has heated the passions of those classes, to whom party spirit would never otherwise have descended. A tale of woe from the Spielberg has moved the sympathies of all Europe. A cry of horror has risen against Modena, where, as in ancient Egypt, every mother is weeping for her first-born. Meanwhile, the land is sterile of events. Literature, as well as commerce, industry, and all the fine arts, except music, are unproductive. All is mute and sad, as in the calm which precedes the storm. Every one recognises an age of transition, of preparation. Every one feels, that Italy has no longer any lower degree of dejection to sink into ; that, according to the rules of Providence, she has a right to look to the future for brighter days ; that all her sons are natural brothers and allies ; that their enemy is the same, and their cause is one ; that God was pleased to associate them in common sufferings, that they might aspire to a common redemption.

It may be easily perceived, how far literature must be imbued with the spirit of the times we have attempted to describe. It is a literature of constraint and discontent ; of transition and expectation ; reluctant and murmuring ; stifled and tortured. A proud enthusiasm has given a strange relish for silence and melancholy. The Italian bards rend the chords of their harps, shaking their heads with a sullen disdain. "No," they exclaim, "we shall not sing the lays of our land for the gratification of strangers ; we shall not soothe, with our verses, the toils of bondmen. Let the brightness of our sky be clouded ; let the fire be quenched in the eyes of the daughters of Italy ; the pure enjoyment of the treasures of nature are the exclusive possession of noble souls ; the smiles of beauty are the sacred reward for high deeds. The songs of the troubadour are reserved for the delight of the brave, who dare to rival his heroes." The voice of the Italian bards is mute. They seek the solitude of their groves, the stillness of their ruins, refusing utterance to their

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sorrows, and obstinately feeding upon them; or they carry their chagrin beyond mountains and seas, roaming from land to land, among strangers who cannot understand them, to pine away slowly, and die; like an exotic plant, drinking a scanty ray through the panes of a hot-house, drooping its head on its consumptive stem, and yielding life without struggle or regret.

But, independently of the political circumstances peculiar to Italy, literature is there, as in the rest of Europe, in a state of transition. As in politics, so in letters and arts, there are two antagonist parties; there are the ideas of the old social world, and the wants of the new. In politics, the two opposite parties are distinguished by the names of legitimists and liberals; in literature, they are called the classical and romantic.

Romanticism, that word, so vaguely defined, and so strangely interpreted; that universal reformer, extending from the frame of an epic poem, to the head-dress of a girl, a substitute, in Europe, for all endearing adjectives; a seducing enchanter, surrounded with fairies and genii, haunting lonely towers and silent groves, crowned with holly and cypress, with mail on his breast, a cowl on his head, a red cross on his mantle; mounted on a spotted horse, with a damsel *en croupe*; a hawk perched on his gauntlet, and a harp of gold slung across his shoulder; this creation of the Northern fancy, received in Italy with eager hospitality, is about to usurp there an undisputed sway over letters and arts, as soon as the consciousness of political existence shall set the wings of Italian genius at liberty.

In Italy, with the exception of the writers of the age of Dante, and a few others in the sixteenth century, literature had been the sterile possession of individuals, and had never attempted to exert any influence on the mass of the people. Men of letters, a privileged class of academicians, Arcadians, and doctors, strangers to the age in which they lived, never studied its character or its wants; on the contrary, they abstracted themselves from the present, to live exclusively in the past. Hence, literature remained for many centuries behind the people, and the people arrived at new ideas without guidance or instruction. A veneration for the immortal works of antiquity, which the researches of the literary men of that country had brought to light out of the darkness of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Middle Ages, inspired them with such fondness for all that belonged to the old world, that they transported themselves into it in imagination, and spoke, and wrote, and thought, as if they had been the ghosts of their ancestors. Hence their sweet language was too vulgar and tame for their grand ideas. The names, with which they had been baptized, were not sufficiently sonorous; the dress of their contemporaries did not sweep the floor with sufficient majesty; and, in idle and puerile pursuits, they wasted their powers, and forgot their true mission, — public improvement.

Hence, Italian genius was exhausted for ages on those long, empty sermons for the theatre, which they styled tragedies; poor translations from the Greek, which they called originals; poor Grecian faces, disguised in the French costume, and redolent of French perfumes; or in those childish playthings of the shepherds of Arcadia, or in those dull *epopees* written in dishonor of Homer, or in those bombastic odes outraging Pindar and Horace. It was not so that Italian literature had risen, when, the young Italian republics having vindicated their natural rights, and invaded the sanctuary of letters, confined hitherto to the shade of the cloisters, it started into new existence, wild and fiery as the age which it was called to enlighten, full-grown and armed, like Minerva, from the head of its great father, Dante.

Dante was the father of romanticism, though that name was not to be mentioned till five centuries later. Romantic were Petrarch and Boccacio, who described their feelings and their age. Romantic were Ariosto and Tasso, who read the ancients, only to ascertain, themselves, how vast a field remained open for new conceptions; and their lays are the songs of the people, and find an echo in the rudest hearts, from the fisherman of Baia, to the gondolier of the Venetian lagoons. But then liberty failed, and, with it, national energy. The prince threw gold at the feet of the bard, and the bard stooped to gather it; art became a trade; academies were opened, and sent forth rhyme-smiths by the score; then pedantry came, and dictated its laws. The bed of Procrustes was produced, and all capacities were stretched or mutilated, according to the academical pattern.

This spirit of classicism, this retrospective literature, reproducing itself to infinity, preaching a crusade against all innovations, patronized by the apprehensive jealousy of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Italian princes, zealously coöperating with the artful policy by which they undermined the national character, and strengthened thus, in proportion to their successful usurpations, invaded all branches of instruction, and reigned uncontrolled.

It taught, that the Greeks and Latins, issuing more freshly from the hands of nature, free from all mixture, free from all specious refinements of an artificial culture, had contemplated and painted nature in her native innocence and graces, smiling with the roses, fragrant with the perfumes of the happy climes of the East; that an instinctive taste for order, proportion, and symmetry, for justness and measure, had early determined for them the confines of the beautiful, and naturally dictated the rules of unity for their poems and dramas, with the same judgment that had presided over the construction of their temples and theatres. It taught that Italy was, by birthright, a classic land, a vast museum of classic remains and memorials, and that her children had inherited that exquisite organization and that sober imagination, by which their fathers had chosen to restrain themselves within certain limits, had combined union with vastness and variety, and raised edifices, which are still braving the redoubled efforts of time and of man; that the imagination of the northern nations is gloomy, their traditions dark and dreary, like the aspect of their forests, their fancies heavy and dull, like the frown of their sky, that, in subjects derived from modern history, there is too much matter of fact, prosaic notoriety, ever to afford room for poetical fictions; that the speculative sciences have despoiled the modern world of its most charming illusions; that poetry, like painting, loves to contemplate objects fading in the distance, and involved in a mysterious twilight. It was added, with a strange mixture of hypocrisy and cowardice, that the Christian religion is too awful a subject, and modern patriotism too delicate, to be prostituted to poetical dreams, to become an object of scoffing profanation, or a source of revolutionary effervescence.

On the other hand, the new school have proclaimed, that literature must take the lead in the progress of society; that it must substantially belong to the age and nation for which it is produced; that it must divine the spirit of the times, and guide men for the best; that religion is poetry, and can derive more evidence from the warmest in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spirations, than from the most subtile arguments ; that among the ancients the types of the beautiful had something too ideal, too abstract, too general ; that their poetry was etching, chiselling, not painting ; that their notions of symmetry and harmony, their laws of the three unities, depended on local circumstances, — on the measure of their rhythm, or the shape of their stage ; but that order prescribes no scale of dimensions ; that unity is not incompatible with immensity, nay, that immensity is the comprehension of all unities ; that the ancients spoke to the imagination, or to the senses, not to the heart ; that their feelings had too much of earth, while our affections have been sanctified and ennobled by the influence of a pure religion, and the progressive refinement of manners ; that the pagan sought all enjoyment in this world, while the Christian places all his expectations beyond ; that, independent of all reasonings, every age must be represented by its own literature ; that we may take advantage of the inheritance of past ages, since it has been providentially preserved, but we must have our own productions, and build in our turn for posterity.

" Qui nous délivrera des Grecs et des Romains ? "

Why should not the legends of chivalry, the crusades, the annals of the Middle Ages, the wars, the voyages, the errors of our forefathers, and even the sufferings and the hopes of the living age afford a high subject for poetry, as long as the heart is beating with them ? When will our poets lay aside their Medeas and Alcestises, their Troy and Messenia, old fables, to which use and abuse have made us indifferent, of which we are sick at the very bottom of our hearts ; and tell us of old England, of noble France, of fair Italy, of the Alhambra, of Columbus, of Doria and Dandolo, of Washington and Napoleon, of the martyrs of the Grève, and the heroes of the Beresina ; of events, of which the report is still stirring the air ; of horrors, with which our nerves are still thrilling ; of calamities, for which our hearts are still bleeding ?

These theories, radiant with the light of truth, flattering the revolutionary mood which agitates the mind in Italy, have visibly prevailed over the most active part of the population, the young ; and all modern productions, since the days of Alfieri, have displayed a more or less determined tendency to the romantic. That school, however, could not obtain there such a decisive success as it met with in England, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Germany, where it originated. Italy was in possession of larger treasures of classical lore, and classic prejudices had a deeper foundation. Romanticism has only secured its victory; it belongs to the coming age to reap the advantages of it, and direct it to the noble purposes for which it seems to have been called into life.

Alfieri was, in Italy, the last of the classics; and happy was it for that school, that it could, at its close, shed a light so dazzling as to shroud its downfall in its glory, and trouble, for a long while, with jealous anxiety, the triumph of its fortunate rival. When we number the greatest tragedian of Italy among the classics, we consider him only in regard to the form and style of his dramas, not to the spirit that dictated them. Whatever might be the shape, which his education, or the antique cast of his genius, made him prefer in his productions, no poet ever contributed more powerfully to the reformation of the character of his countrymen. For that object, he only needed to throw before them the model of his own character; it mattered little, whether it was drawn with the pencil, or carved with the chisel; whether it was wrapped up in the Roman gown of Brutus, or in the Florentine cassock of Raimondo de' Pazzi. Properly speaking, he belongs to no school; he stands by himself, the man of all ages, the man of no age. — The romantic taste gained ground. The Jacobin legions invaded every thing around him; he knew nothing, of it, he heard nothing. Many years since, he had retired from the stage of the world; his mission was fulfilled, and he hastened to immortality, unconscious of the storms that thickened around him. Then the great catastrophe arrived; the new democracy imported from Paris, and the flame of military renown, left no leisure for study. All was absorbed in the general vertigo, until the rage of the elements abated. Then men began to count each other, and to exchange congratulations on their happy escape. The general attention was then shared among three contemporaries of different manners and taste; characteristic geniuses, destined to represent the opposite parties into which the Italians, in the alternation of so many vicissitudes, were compelled to range themselves.

The first, surrounded with honors and affluence; respected, but closely watched by the reinstalled governments as a formidable enemy, but a faithless friend; surrounded by a crowd of young poets, and old pedants; his hazle hair sprinkled

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the frosts of age, his smile radiant and winning, his brow contracting, ever and anon, as if from an inward sting of remorse; Monti, the poet of the times, sold to all parties, the constant friend of the conqueror. — The second, still clad in the uniform of a Cisalpine officer, with a dark, menacing countenance, disfigured by a large volume of hair and whiskers, with the marks of wild passions and a disorderly life,

"Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,"

Ugo Foscolo, a soldier and a poet, the austere patriot, the victim of his own violence, hesitating between exile and the dagger of Ortis. — The last, a soft, colorless face, with a deep, serene eye, a delicate frame, downcast, pensive, sad, Pindemonte, just arrived from his country-seat, a harmless spectator, hating no man, respected by all parties, secure in his integrity and in his unenvied obscurity. — Bred up with the classic taste, occupied in translations of Homer, influenced by the reigning authority of the genius of Alfieri, but early brought into the midst of the innovating activity of their age, obeying the general current of thought, and naturally placed at the head of the movement, these three poets were destined to constitute the link between the established theories, and the invading ideas, between old and young Italy. It is to them, and to a few of their predecessors, that we owe the restoration of Dante; the redeemer, the regenerator, the prophet, unheeded and forgotten in times of prosperity, resuscitated in days of perplexity; the glorious pyramid, raising its head above the region of storms, a rallying point for the sons of Italy against future dispersion.

Monti, the most able reviver of the Ghibeline poet, the greatest master of versification, perhaps, after him, had all of Dante excepting his soul. That rich, pompous dress, that ever-rolling majesty, that dazzling vividness of coloring, was found, at length, to cover only barrenness and shallowness, only ashes and smoke. It was found, that his inventive powers were limited, his images vague and undefined. A total absence of principle, an entire want of conviction, of faith, of character, soon broke the spell of that borrowed grandiloquence. The active minds, the generous, the confident, spurned the wanton seduction, and the reign of Monti was over.

Foscolo, like Alfieri, rather a great soul, than a great mind, mastering men and events, mastered by his passions, in a perpetual struggle with himself, reining his imagination,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and paralyzing his forces, only showed that he was a genius, but fulfilled not the mission of genius. Diving into the most sanguine illusions of the times, writing and fighting, roving and raving, loving much, and hating much more, Foscolo had no taste, no leisure, no aptitude for the pursuit of a regular course of ideas. — Satisfied with having won the favors of fame by a short courtship of four hundred lines, with having poured out his soul in the pages of his Venetian hero, the author of *I Sepolcri* and *Jacopo Ortis* sunk in disappointment and inaction, to die in distress and bitterness of heart.

Pindemonte, a master of the gentle and delicate feelings, the high priest of melancholy, of a sweet, all-endearing melancholy, giving heart and voice to the whole kingdom of nature, a man of innocence and forbearance, was not in unison with the unsettled period in which he was destined to live. Fifty years earlier, he might have raised and ennobled, fifty years later he might have assuaged and consoled, his countrymen; but in that raging effervescence, in that ebbing and heaving of passions, his voice could not make itself audible, any more than a cry of distress in the roar of the ocean, any more than the strain of the lark in the din of a hurricane. — And thus, with the highest qualifications, each of the three poets of the age of Napoleon failed in gaining for himself the title of the poet of the age; the first, discredited by a cowardly connivance; the second, exhausted in a desperate struggle; the third, cast into the shade by a harmless neutrality. But, if all of them renounced the glory of leading the way in the progress of the new school, they left, however, high claims to our gratitude, as having, willing or unwilling, favored its rapid diffusion; Foscolo, by dignifying the trade of poetry with the sanctity of patriotism, as minstrelsy was once associated with all the splendor of chivalry; Monti, by demolishing the last Arcadian and academical ramparts of pedantry; Pindemonte, by giving the soul a wide empire over fancy; all of them, by turning Italian literature to its original sources, by attempting subjects of an immediate interest, of a heart-thrilling influence; by singing themselves, their age, and their country.

Almost at the setting of that fair constellation, a young believer arose, alone, and as yet unrivalled, to give, by his influence, a name to the literary reform, that had begun long before him, — Manzoni.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As soon as the abating of the revolutionary flood afforded some ground for studious pursuits in Italy, the German literature, ripened among the preceding commotions, appeared on the top of the Alps ; young, active, gigantic. Italian restlessness turned to Germany, it turned to England and Spain, to the East, and to the North. The sphere of studies was prodigiously extended. Shakspeare and Milton never read, or never understood ; Garcilasso and Lope de Vega, dead and buried ; Brahminic verses, Icelandic legends, Gothic epopees, unknown lands ; the Niebelungenlied, the Bible, the Koran, — were now placed by the side of Homer and Dante ; while Goethe and Schiller, Byron and Scott, Lamartine and Victor Hugo, sent every day a supply of new models. It was amazing and frightful ; it was the tower of Babel ; it was a literary fair of all ages and countries.

Manzoni came up in that recent affluence. With a mind imbued with the maxims of freedom and patriotism, common in Italy to all who were educated on this side of 1800, he embraced the romantic views respecting the substance and form of his art. He gave Italy two historical tragedies, on national subjects, free from the bondage of Aristotelian rules. — *Carmagnola* and *Adelchi*, the best dramas in Italy since the *Saul* of Alfieri, the standard works of romanticism in that country, have, by the general consent of strangers, been ranked by the side of the best modern productions ; Goethe and his school have been proud of adopting their author.

Of those tragedies, only the first was tried upon the stage, and met with poor success. Manzoni, a genius of the very first order, giving life to all objects he takes in hand, master of all the keys of the imagination and the heart, the greatest lyric poet, we think, Italy ever produced, did not equally possess that vastness and calmness of mind, which embrace the whole of a tragedy. Recently placed in contact with Shakspeare and Schiller, seeing in their works a manifest breach of the three unities of the Greeks, he believed, perhaps, that they had abolished all unity. This is far from being the case. The unity of time, from twenty-four hours, had been extended to months and years, to the lifetime of a hero ; the scene, from the vestibule of a palace, had passed from place to place, had crossed seas and mountains ; the four, or six personages, had been multiplied to a whole court, to a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nation ; but the action, the interest, the movement of the drama, far from stagnating or slackening, had gained in strength and intensity. Taking any of the best models of the romantic theatre, say *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Don Carlos*, or the *Conspiracy of Fiesco*, it will be easily perceived, whether the poet, or the spectator, loses, for a single instant, his object of view. It is, we repeat, only the scale, that has been altered. It is unity in larger dimensions, but still unity. Now we do not mean, that Manzoni's tragedies are wanting in such unity. *Adelchi* is the extinction of the Lombard dynasty ; *Carmagnola* is the cold-blooded sacrifice of a confiding warrior to the jealous suspicion of a cowardly government. All the episodes essentially belong to the subject ; every scene leads us to the catastrophe ; but we believe, that there is wanting that warmth, that simplicity of action, that proportion between the means and end, which permit us to view the whole at a glance and follow its progress through its digressions, which persuade us of the importance of the episodes, which keep our minds in suspense, our hearts in anxiety. Those tragedies are inimitable in their details. The fifth act of *Carmagnola*, and the fourth of *Adelchi*, are grand specimens of correct and sublime pathos. Some of the monologues, and some of the characters, are delineated with a perfect knowledge of the inmost recesses of the human heart ; the three chorusses are the noblest effusions of prophetic inspiration, the most holy lessons of patriotic admonition. But alas ! romanticism asked poetry for the people ; and how can these two tragedies come home to the people, which, for want of connexion, cannot be performed.

What has been said of the historical dramas, we are disposed to apply to the historical novel. *I Promessi Sposi* has placed Manzoni by the side of Scott. Yet the reader, who takes up that book for a novel, will find himself sadly disappointed. It had already been imputed as a fault to the original inventor of that class of writing, that his two first volumes were wasted in painting manners and times, and the action proceeded slowly until the beginning of the third. But in Manzoni there is no action at all. A monk, a nun, a cardinal, a pedant, a gossip, are successively introduced ; it takes one or two chapters to acquaint us with each of them ; insurrections and famine, rapes, conversions, pestilence are produced ; but the author seems

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

embarrassed with the means he has called to his aid, the conjuror seems at a loss how to get rid of the demons he has ventured to evoke.

True, each of these episodes is worth in itself a romance. True, the *Monaca di Monza* is a tale of woe, which wrings our hearts with anguish and rage. True, the pestilence of Milan makes us forget Thucydides, Lucretius, Boccacio; scenery and manners, individuals and masses, — all is breathing with the colors of life. True, the farewell of Lucia to her home is a new revelation of heaven to earth; but why should such beauties have been put together with such a deplorable absence of any attempt at order and plan; why should they crowd the scene without giving it movement and life?

So much for the form; but, if we look to the spirit that dictated the works of Manzoni, as well as Pellico, and many of their followers, we shall easily perceive, that they are still far from answering the wants of the age, far from being the models Italy had a right to expect from the redeeming school.

The most cruel ravages the doctrines of the French revolution had inflicted upon Italy had fallen upon the religious creeds of the land. Catholicism, a dismantled edifice, supported by the cohesive strength of habit and tradition, was naturally giving place to cautious but progressive repairs, to an enlightened though not incendiary reform. French philosophy thought otherwise. It struck to the right and left until the whole building was levelled to the ground, and strewed salt upon the soil, condemning it to eternal sterility. It was but too easy a task. At the fall of Napoleon, most of the honest thinkers of Italy were, we fear, skeptics. There remained, we hope, many hearts yet filled with the fear of God, but few tongues that dared still to proclaim his name. Such extremes could not go far without rousing a spirit of reaction. The romantic innovators, trusting the success of the national cause to the remoulding of the moral character of the people, cast their gauntlet to that chilling philosophy, and entered the lists for God and his discarded revelation. But there was more ardor in their emprise, than discernment. Their chivalrous magnanimity led them to take upon themselves the whole of the question, the wrong side as well as the right. The spirit of Christianity could yet be revived; the old zeal for Catholicism, never. Biblical truth and evangelic charity

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could still work wonders ; priestly craft and monkish ignorance could no longer be popular. The revelation of God remained untouched ; the impositions of man had been judged. There exists in Italy an inveterate antipathy to the court of Rome. If the papal sway has been an evil for all Christendom, for Italian union it has been mortal doom. Prelates and cardinals, abbeys and nunneries, inquisition and censure, confession and purgatory, all these are losing their influence for ever. Catholicism, as a name, is still revered in Italy. A great number of its rites are indigenous. Italian steadiness will not easily be driven to an open profession of apostasy. But the most conscientious Catholic in that country has made his protest within the privacy of his heart; every man forms his sect by himself, and all those individual creeds meet in one church, as if for a tacit compact of mutual forbearance.

What patriotic object then could the Italian novelist propose to himself, when he made a monk and a cardinal his favorite heroes ; when, in an enlightened country, in the age of Galileo and Fra Paolo, he found no greatness, no virtue, but under the cowl or the mitre ? Why did he choose his subject out of a period of oppression and woe ? Does history tell nothing of Italy but reverses ? or has she no reverses unmixed with disgrace ? or did he think ancient disgrace could atone for present abjectness ? or did he wish to reconcile his country to her present abjectness by the despairing conviction, that such has always been, such must be always, her doom ?

With far more limited powers, other novelists in Italy have better divined their times. Romance is in Italy, as elsewhere, the most popular literature, not excepting even the theatre. The Waverley novels have made the historical traditions of an obscure kingdom the inheritance of all Europe. Walter Scott is a sorcerer in Italy. His works have appeared there in no less than four different translations, and several new editions are annually exhausted. It could hardly be expected that the Italian novels should be free from imitation. Few of those productions, in fact, can hitherto lay much claim to original invention. *Il Castello di Trezzo* and *Falco della Rupe* strike us by a few pictures of a masterly hand, with terribly sublime strokes, after the manner of Dante and Michel Angelo ; the *Sibilla Odaleta*, the *Fidanzata Ligure*,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and *I Prigionieri di Pizzighettone*, * describe manners and characters with sufficient skill and variety; *Marco Visconti* excels in the exhibition of the tenderest feelings, *La Battaglia di Benevento*, and *L' Assedio di Firenze*, in the enthusiastic movement of the highest affections. But the authors of these novels have over Manzoni the great advantage, of having illustrated such periods of the history of their country, as awaken a ready interest and leave a lasting impression.

The annals of Italy, her early revolutions, her unfortunate discords and feuds, afford but too many incidents and characters for romance. Indeed, we know of no novel more entertaining than the sixteen volumes of the "History of the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages," by Sismondi. It was very sad, that Manzoni, a man of upright intentions, could not find better champions than his Renzo, or Fra Cristoforo, while strangers chose at their pleasure Rienzi, Fiesco, and Foscari, misrepresenting them at the expense of historical truth and national pride. On that account the most fortunate production, among the vast number of novels inundating the Peninsula, was *Ettore Fieramosca*, by Massimo d'Azeglio, the son-in-law of Manzoni. A popular narrative, the revival of a long forgotten page of history, the last success of Italian valor in its decline, a private engagement of thirteen Italians with as many French knights, in a close field, at Barletta, a brilliant episode in the wars of the Spaniards in Italy, at the opening of the sixteenth century, has gained more proselytes to the patriotic cause, than any other book published for many years. It is evidently the work of a young mind. The fancy has not been sufficiently chastened, the passions not judiciously managed; but there is throughout the two volumes a vigor, an enthusiasm, that on the first perusal easily disarm all criticism. The author has indulged perhaps too long, and too often, in horrors and atrocities. It is a fault that has been long attributed to the whole of the romantic school; it is what has often deterred severe minds from embracing its ideal principles, and has induced others to substitute new names and definitions.

The wide range, that we have given to romanticism, dispenses us from entering into such nice distinctions. Ro-

* We understand with pleasure, that a gentleman of Boston is now occupied with an English translation of the last of these works.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

manticism is for us an abstract, conventional term, by which we designate the appropriation of a literature to the age and country from which it springs; the consentaneousness with, and the influence upon, the feelings, the wants, the creed, the memorials, and the high destinies of man in the various stages of society in which it finds him. Romanticism for us is Nature, that gave Homer to heroic Greece, Tacitus to degraded Rome, Dante to distracted Italy, Shakspeare to aspiring England. Romanticism we call the literature of the romance languages, as long as the romance languages are the effusion of the romance virtues, Christianity, Chivalry, Patriotism. Romanticism is then not responsible for the aberrations of taste, for the exaggeration of tragic enormities, which, principally imported from France and Germany, have darkened the pages of a few frantic productions, now enjoying in Italy an ephemeral popularity. This is a general disease of the age, the result of turbid humors tainting the spirits; a depravation of feelings, such as led the ancient Romans to their bloody games of wild beasts and gladiators; a deplorable mania, invading music and painting, ballets and operas, turning the stage into a slaughter-house, making heroes of ruffians and wantons, to blunt and drown sensibility, to give us ague, headache, and sea-sickness.

The school of Manzoni has successfully opposed its influence to this misconstruction of the tendencies of romanticism; but it has gone, perhaps, too far in the opposite extreme. It seems to have forgotten, that excitement is the persuasive faculty of art; that virtue moderates, and religion sanctifies, but neither of them commands an absolute extinction of the passions. Such remarks are especially applicable to a book of wide-spread reputation, tending to the noblest aims, dictated with the purest conscientiousness, with the most ingenuous candor, — *Le Mie Prigioni.*

Silvio Pellico has been a name dear to Italy since his earliest youth. *La Francesca da Rimini* is the most popular tragedy now exhibiting on the Italian stage. His other dramas, and his *Cantiche*, chivalrous legends in verse, drawn from the chronicles of the Middle Ages, though visibly affected by the prostration and languor of a prison, are written in good taste, and destined perhaps to rise higher in the public estimation; but the name of the author is to remain attached to another work, that of which he himself is the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hero. *Le Mie Prigioni*, owing perhaps to a very happy translation,* by which that book has been made the property of American readers, has obtained more popularity in this country, than the original work could ever secure in Italy.

Among Americans,

"Fortunati, quorum jam mœnia surgunt,"

where the social order has been permanently maintained since its very settlement, in a land blessed with the influence of self-imposed institutions, secure from foreign aggression, what the general welfare most requires of the citizen is a sedate, well-disciplined temper; every reluctant, ambitious spirit would prove but fatal to public tranquillity; but in Italy, in the midst of hostile factions and jarring interests, in a land of struggles and violence, how would acquiescence in existing circumstances be interpreted, but as cowardly stupidity; what would be the result of such a temper, but to provoke more outrage, and secure impunity to the oppressor? The "Prisons" of Pellico is not the book of a bigot, not of a man who has forsaken his cause, or wishes for a reconciliation with his unrelenting foe; it is the long, painful effort of a martyr, who has traced his sufferings to his Maker, blessed him for the trial he was pleased to inflict, adored his will in his instruments. Sublime virtues! but the long solitude of his sorrows had made him alone; he had abstracted himself from the cause he had served; he could not find a voice of indignation for his country; he had pardoned for her as for himself. She wanted of him no political rashness, no vehemence; but there is a measure in all things. If all his countrymen should embrace his maxims, it would be over for ever with Italy. We may drop a tear of sympathy on the narrative of evils that have broken a lofty spirit; we may admire the self-possession of a victim who spares his executioner the expression of vain resentment and invective; but Italy must derive a different moral from the doctrines of Christ. God has not created man in his own image, to offer him an object of outrage and torture to his fellow beings. Sons of the same father, redeemed by the same ransom, the blood spilt in fraternal quarrels falls upon the head of the aggressor. The boundaries of the nations are determined by the works of God; he who invades the home of his neighbour violates his law. "Let the Austrian recross

* Printed in Cambridge, 1836.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Alps, and he shall be a brother again." * Such are the morals that must needs be preached in Italy; and the propagation of such doctrines engages the eager attention of that undefinable agent, known under the name of Young Italy. By this appellation we do not mean to designate only that sect, which, in 1833, attempted one more revolutionary effort in Savoy and Piedmont. That sect, only a fraction of an immense association, a disorderly assemblage of ardent youths in a foreign land, without means or intelligence, venturing an attack of which hardly an indistinct rumor was heard in the country till long after their failure, could only result in adding to the number of victims. At the head of that ill-fated expedition there was a young enthusiast, uniting the boldest ambition to the highest capacities; of that pale, bilious temperament, so common in southern climates; whose passions all obey but themselves; of whose stuff are made Robespierres or Napoleons; a young student of twenty, a Genoese of noble extraction, an exile, Giovanni Mazzini.

It was in June, 1831, that he first made himself known, in France, by an Address to Charles Albert of Savoy, on his accession to the throne of Sardinia, inviting him not to disappoint the expectations he had raised in Italy in 1821, when, being only Prince of Carignano, he styled himself the chief of all the Carbonari in the country. That Address was a flash of divine eloquence, such as had never before shone over Italy. His companions in misfortune gathered in adoration, and bent before his powerful genius. He established himself at Marseilles, as editor of a journal called, after the name of the sect of which it was to be the organ, *La Giovine Italia*. Several numbers of that journal appeared at different intervals in the course of that and the following year. Mazzini wrote the greater part of their contents; but, either because the management of his vast plans of conspiracy engrossed the best part of his time, or because his genius was wearied and exhausted at the first start, his articles were dictated by an insane virulence; the fretful jealousy of exiles was alarmed by his imperious ambition, and he hurried on his insurrectional schemes to the destruction of himself and of others. Involved in rash attempts against all governments, condemned to death in Italy, banished from France,

* "Il Franco
Ripassi l'Alpe e tornerà fratello."
Nicolini. — Giovanni di Procida.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and proscribed in Switzerland, no longer finding where to shelter his head, he finally escaped public notice, probably hidden in some obscure abode, to reappear, perhaps, under better auspices, in hours of action.

But the spirit of Young Italy, we repeat, did not manifest itself exclusively in the pages of that journal, or of two other periodicals, *L' Esule* and *L' Italiano*, also published in France. Historical and philosophical works, periodical and fugitive literature, though closely watched by the police in the various districts of the Peninsula, yet all display a tendency to the developement of new energies, all coöperate to urge on with a new impulse the whole social order, and the chains of ancient institutions weighing upon it.

To search into the most obscure annals of history, and reveal the glories of the land; to derive from that past lustre a feeling of shame for present disgrace, a ray of hope for future resurrection; to spread a chivalrous, devotional, enterprising spirit, inviting men to think, to struggle, to strive; to combat individualism, and all that tends to isolate man, and make him forgetful of what he owes to society; to exhibit in dark colors, dark even to exaggeration, the evils of division and servitude, and cry, "Italy! Italy!" such is the mission of romanticism. Though some of them may be misled by party spirit, by excessive zeal, or by short-sighted prejudices, there is not a writer of any credit in Italy, who does not conscientiously exert his powers for the improvement of the human race, none that does not actively seek the welfare of his country. Letters have resumed their place in society.

The influence that such a noble purpose must necessarily extend over the sources, the substance, and form of all present productions, in order to put them within the reach of the multitude, and engage public attention, has given rise to interminable disputes, in which, as usual, the different parties could not understand each other; the last result of which has been, to assure to every individual genius the independent right of following the dictates of his own taste, deriving the beautiful from its immediate fountains, and reproducing it in its natural dimensions, in its original order.

The books we have referred to at the head of the present article, are evidently written in the spirit of romanticism, and are valued as among its most eminent models. Tommaso Grossi, a living poet, still in the flower of his age, early distinguished in his country by a short, half-satirical, half-politi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cal poem, in the Milanese dialect, *L' Ombra di Prina*, abandoning comic poetry with nobler views, subsequently produced his *Melodie Lombarde*, a charming little volume of national lays ; *L' Ildegonda*, a romantic legend of the thirteenth century ; *La Fuggitiva*, a tale of woe, an episode of the Russian campaign of 1812, originally written in the native dialect of the poet, and lately by him translated into Italian verse ; and *I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata*, an heroico-chivalrous work in fifteen cantos, which he did not choose to call an epic poem, something like a *Jerusalem Delivered* in a romantic garb. Lastly, after a long interval employed by him in the production of his historical novel, *Marco Visconti*, he published, last year, *Ulrico e Lida*, another tale in verse, an episode of the long wars between the two republics of Milan and Como, in the earlier part of the twelfth century.

Grossi, the Bellini of poetry, as he is commonly called in Italy, is the true poet of the heart. We know of few poets, in whose lines gentle thoughts issue more pure and spontaneous. The affections, occupying the most eminent place in his poems, are entirely free from that affectation, from that artificial refinement, the capital fault of Italian poets from the days of Petrarch, which, known under the name of *concetti* among poets, and *maniera* among painters, has caused strangers to say, that the Italians have their feelings in their head instead of their heart. Grossi has nothing epic in his poetry, and we have reason to rejoice at it. Italy had already heroic poems in sufficient number. In our days, when mind decides the chances of combat, and even military courage has assumed altogether a moral stamp, the everlasting battles of Homer and Tasso have become wearisome. Grossi understood this. In his tales, even in his poem on the Crusades, the chief struggle is carried on by the heart ; heroism is, in his verse, only chivalrous enthusiasm. Religion is resignation and hope ; love is devotion, purity, and sorrow. As Raffael has been called the painter of Madonnas, and Correggio the painter of children, so we would call Grossi the poet of broken-hearted maidens, in their final agony.

La Fuggitiva, a runaway Milanese girl, following her lover beyond the Danube and the Mosqua, losing him in the last victory of the French in Russia, involved alone and helpless among the disasters of that woful retreat, surviving all hardships only to expire in the arms of her mother, repentant and pardoned ;— *Ildegonda*, a new Juliet, atoning for a pure,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

guileless love, with long torture and anguish in a nunnery, insulted, harassed by cowled fiends, haunted by terrific visions, feverish, delirious, and with a vigorous, reluctant vitality, emptying to the last drop the cup of woe that had been filled for her by Providence; — *Giselda*, the fair pilgrim of the Po, riding on her white palfrey by the side of her brother, tender, inexperienced, a prisoner in Antioch, in love with a handsome infidel, erring, repenting, relapsing, innocent in her apostasy as in her conversion; — such are the creations of the fancy of Grossi; a poet, whose festive harp, apparently tuned to an exuberant effusion of lively images, suddenly turns to mournful strains, rising higher by far than you would have fancied pathos could reach. And yet such emotions are reserved for a few hearts; popular as Grossi is in Italy, it is only a gentle spirit that can choose him for a favorite poet. The taste of *Oltremonte*, especially the modern French school, aims not to shake the fibres, but to rend them asunder. They anatomize the darkest corners of the human heart; they plunge into the lowest abyss of crime and infamy; they delight in scenes of torture and scaffolds. They are true to nature, indeed, and produce an ephemeral effect; but it is ever at the expense of taste, as well as delicacy, innocence, and virtue. The Italians have preserved themselves pure from the dangerous contagion; and, though their productions must appear tame and insipid to a taste perverted by the continual perusal of Victor Hugo, or *Madame* George Sand, one day, perhaps, they will feel the happy results of their moderation. The faster we advance in a wrong course, the longer it will take us to return to the right one.

On another account, we have reason to congratulate Italy. Since 1800, there has not been an immoral book, of note, printed in that country, not even one not conscientiously directed to a severe reformation of moral principles. All sketch-books of travellers contain some abuse against the Italian name. The Italian character stands in all English and French novels as a model of all villany and profligacy. Yet sixty years have elapsed since the Abate Casti gave Italy, in his *Novelle Galanti*, a book written with as much elegance, and with as much impudence, as Byron ever displayed in his Don Juan, or Paul de Kock in his novels; and this work of Casti is now a rare book in Italy, and is never reprinted but at Paris. True enough, the Italians, since the loss of their liberties,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been systematically corrupted by their governments. True, the highest classes, even in our days, condemned to inactivity, lead a life of disorder and scandal; but there is need of all the uncharitableness of ignorant travellers, not to recognise a striking general improvement. The day will come, perhaps, when the nations shall cherish towards each other more brotherly feelings; till then, it is consoling, that the Italians have no such teachers of morals as Byron, Moore, or Bulwer; Paul de Kock, or Victor Hugo.

L' Esule, by Pietro Giannone, a Modenese exile residing at Paris, does not exhibit, perhaps, an equal skill in composition; though it is equally commendable on account of the noble sentiments that pervade its pages. Rather a novel in verse than a poem, written in various measures, this juvenile effort of a generous mind is the relation of a dark deed of vengeance and blood, the sudden execution of a sentence pronounced in a secret meeting of Carbonari; a nocturnal enterprise, of which an exile, furtively restored to his home, is the hero; a tragic tale, founded on facts, happily relieved by the contrast of softer colors and gentler images, varied by brilliant narratives and glowing descriptions, and overshadowed by a well-sustained veil of awful mystery.

We have no time to devote to such names as Pietro Sestini and Cesare Cantù, Carrer and Giorgini, Betteloni and Biava, young rhymers of high expectation in their country, but whose names are still too faint a sound ever to have reached these shores; all of them either rapidly advancing in the footsteps of Manzoni, or opening new paths for themselves. Far less could we occupy ourselves with such poets as Nicolini, Rosini, Torti, Leopardi, and other names formerly numbered among the great, but now falling into comparative insignificance, either because their talents have been turned to other pursuits, or because, understanding but imperfectly the change of taste that has taken place in the last twenty years, they have been left behind their age.

It remains only to give some notice of Giovanni Berchet, a Lombard exile in London, "whose poetry," according to Maroncelli's expression, "produces homesickness in the poor exile, and kindles the fire of independence in the bosom of those who breathe the air of our adored Peninsula."

The *Romanze* of Berchet, the immediate expression of the feelings of the present age, are, without contradiction,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the most romantic production of Romanticism. They have hitherto been regarded only on account of their national importance, only as the war-song of the Italians, in their mute but not passive struggle against foreign oppression. None, in fact, of the modern poets has been better able to conceive the pining depression, the ardent impatience, under which the Italians are laboring, none to express the inveterate rancor long cherished in Italy, and especially in Lombardy, against the Austrian name. The spirit of the exile has roamed amidst the favorite haunts of his childhood; he has descended into the privacy of afflicted mansions; he has interrogated the tears of sisters and wives, and has revealed their secret anguish to the sympathies of all Europe.* Here,

* It will, perhaps, be agreeable to our readers, if we give some short fragments of two of his most popular ballads, as they are utterly unknown in this country.

"Sotto i pioppi della Dora,
Dove l' onda è più romita,
Ogni dì sull' ultim' ora,
S' ode un suono di dolor;
E' Clarina, a cui la vita
Rodon l' ansie dell' amor.

* * *

Già mature nel tuo seno,
Bella Italia, fremean l' ire,
Sol mancava il dì sereno
Della speme e Dio il creò,
Di tre secoli il desire
In volere ei ti cangiò.

* * *

E Clarina al suo diletto
Cinse il brando, e tricolore
La coccarda in sull' elmetto
Di sua man gli collocò,
Poi, suffusa di rossore,
Con un bacio il congedò.
Ma indiscreta sul bel volto
Una lagrima pur scese;
Ei la vide; al ciel rivolto,
Diè un sospiro, e impallidì,
E la vergine cortese
Il guerriero inanimì.

* * *

Quì Gismondo il dì fatale
Scansò l' ira dei tiranni,
Quì Clarina il tristo vale
Sotto i pioppi a lui gemè,
E quì a pianger vien gli affanni
Dell' amante che perdè."

Clarina.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

under the poplars of the Dora, in its most lonely recesses, is Clarina, the betrothed of an exile and his widow; here, when he started to join the standards of the insurrection of 1821, when she adorned the helmet of her warrior with the national colors, in the midst of her terrors she had still for him a word of encouragement; here, when all was lost, when she met him once more to exchange a last farewell, she had still for him a word of consolation and hope; here now she sits alone and deserted, and none has for her a word of sympathy or encouragement. — There, a man of the north, a foreign visiter, hastening to breathe the air of sweet Italy, is accosted on the summit of the Alps by one of the hermits of Mount Cenis, who points out to him the vale of the Po lying at their feet, smiling like a garden, outspreading like an ocean. Before that bewildering sight, the venerable old man covers his face with both hands, and a tear steals from his eyes. Pressed by the stranger, he talks of his private chagrins; he tells of the sorrows of those hundred cities glittering on the plain; and, on the threshold of Italy, the desire of Italy dies in the heart of the stranger. To the fair hills and vineyards, saddened by tears, to the fair cities, crowded with the victims of tyranny, he prefers the gloomy pines of his forests, the fogs and the dismal blast of the east wind of his own shores.*

Such is the poetry Italy is in need of; and while such verses are sung in England, or Egypt, or Barbary, or in any land that may offer the exile a shelter, the echo of millions of

* "Non è lieta,
Non può stanza esser di giubilo,
Dove il pianto è al limitar.
Non è lieta, ma pensosa,
Non v' è plauso, ma silenzio,
Non v' è pace, ma terror.
Come il mar su cui si posa,
Sono immensi i guai d' Italia,
Inesausto è il suo dolor.
* * * *
Tal sull' Itala frontiera,
Dell' Italia il desiderio
All' estranio in sen morì;
Ai bei colli, ai bei vigneti,
Contristati dalle lagrime
Che i tiranni fan versar,
Ei preferse i tetri abeti,
L' ardue nebbie, ed i perpetui
Aquiloni del suo mar."
Il Romito del Cenisio.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hearts answers at home ; and those verses repeated, copied, smuggled, elude all precautions, evade all persecutions, until they appear with open face, in full daylight, secure in the patronage of popular enthusiasm.

But, independent of the patriotic feelings, that dictated these ballads, they will pass to posterity as a fine specimen of taste and elegance. Their principal charm resides peculiarly in the style. The Italian language had, during the course of five centuries, strangely deviated from the original simplicity of the age of Dante. Antiquated by the Latinists of the fifteenth century, diluted by the prating *Cinquecentisti*, distracted by the raving *Seicentisti*, adulterated by the *Gallomaniacs* of the last century, cramped by the *Academia della Crusca*, soiled by flattery and servility, that noble language lay down overcome and prostrated, an artificial construction of empty words ; cumbrous, not rich ; pedantic, not correct ; with none of its original beauties, except its ever-fascinating melody. The revival of Dante has admirably coöperated to restore the Italian to its native energy and simplicity. Manzoni, and his school, form a new epoch in the style, as well as in the taste, of Italian literature. Till lately, poetry, in that country, had always been a different language from prose. Nature had suggested plain constructions, art had adopted elaborate inventions ; all that was simple and natural the poet rejected as vulgar. The poet never called things by their names. All objects had a name among gods, a name among mortals. Hence, an infinite number of ideas found no place in verse for want of expression, and poetry sounded like Greek to the ears of the multitude.

The romantic school have made vigorous efforts to strip Italian poetry of its tinselled frippery. They have gained vigor and purity in proportion as they have adopted ease and simplicity ; they have enriched the language, by renouncing pomp and magnificence. Grossi and Berchet have their share in the good success of this fortunate innovation. The first a master of the elegiac, the second, of the lyrical style, they possess, in common, that rapid and concise fluency, that natural correspondence between thoughts and words, that make one feel, that an idea cannot have more than one expression.

In giving a short account of a few of the living poets of Italy, our object has been rather to point out what is to be ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pected from that country, than what she can actually boast of. If we were to lay such productions by the side of the dramas of Schiller and Goethe, or of the poems of Byron and Moore, we know, the balance would not be in favor of Italy. But such a comparison would be a manifest injustice. The fortunes of Foscolo, Pellico, Mazzini, Giannone, Berchet, show how dangerous it is in that country, to raise one's head above the common level; how the doom of a martyr often awaits the success of a genius. True, Manzoni, Grossi, and a few others, have hitherto escaped uninjured; but suspicion and espionage, hovering above their heads, leave little to be envied by their brothers abroad.

Let such works be offered as a proof, that Italian literature is not dead. Classicism is dead, that ever-lifeless literature, that cultivated art for the sake of art, the corrupting luxury of an enslaved age, is dead there, as everywhere else. But Italian literature has, in the same manner, languished and revived in other periods. And it has never sunk from its glories, without rising younger and greater. — The phœnix has been consumed upon her funeral pyre. Her last breath has vanished in the air with the smoke of her ashes; but the dawn breaks; the first rays of the sun are falling upon the desolate hearth; the ashes begin to heave; and from their bosom the new bird springs forth, with luxuriant plumage, displaying her bold flight, with her eyes fixed on that sun from which she derived her origin.

Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Life and Select Discourses of the Rev. Samuel H. Stearns.* Boston. Josiah A. Stearns. 1838. 8vo. pp. 420.

This volume, though diversified by no remarkable adventures, is full of interest. Mr. Stearns, whose recent death in Paris has disappointed many hopes, was a man of singular purity of character and refinement of intellect. He carried into the sacred office the most ardent zeal, the most single-hearted devotion to its severe and laborious duties. He was educated at Harvard University, where the modesty of his character and the correctness of his literary taste were highly appreciated. His feelings towards that institution, and his views of the obligations of its students, are thus expressed by his biographer.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Mr. Stearns felt a deep interest in Harvard College. He venerated, he loved, that institution with filial affection. Painfully sensible of what he conceived to be its errors in Christian doctrine, he could not fail to appreciate its thorough course of literary and scientific studies, its numerous and superior lectures, its large and invaluable library, its intellectual and classic atmosphere, and, opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, its general standard of morality, which, it is thought, would suffer much less in comparison, with the other colleges of New England, than is sometimes imagined. He looked upon it as the noble offspring of the Pilgrims, consecrated by many a prayer to the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and designed by God, to afford important aid in accomplishing the destinies of the New World, and sooner or later, in rolling the wave of salvation, by a crucified Saviour, over the Old.

"July 14th, 1823, just before he graduated, he writes to a brother, who at that moment was in great doubt as to the choice of a college, but afterwards entered Harvard; 'Oh, how pleasant it would be, if I might indulge the hope that ——— was coming here, to take my place with my books, furniture, and every little article of convenience, &c. How much more pleasure I should take in visiting this seat of learning, the first-born of our enlightened and pious forefathers, — the mother of almost all their worthy posterity, — the nursery of *our own fathers*, — the object of their kindest regard, — of their warmest gratitude, — of their highest veneration, — of their most fervent, importunate, and acceptable prayers. * * * * * * God bless the sons of Harvard, and preserve our Alma Mater from the open attacks of enemies, the secret treachery of hypocritical friends, and from the baleful influence of every wrong principle to be found in her own heart.'

"Mr. Stearns was much tried while a member of college, as to the duties which he owed, *relatively*, to himself, to his fellow-students, and to the officers of the institution. According to sentiments of honor which prevail in every generous breast, he despised the meanness of those who seek preferment, by the wilful exposure of another's faults. At the same time, neither his self-respect, nor his principles of religion, would allow him to shield himself or his friends, by the greater meanness of equivocation and untruth. The maxim of conduct which he chose was, *never to stoop*, in *any emergency*, *to falsehood*, but always to save the character of his associates, when he could do it, without contravening his conscience. He reverenced, in students, as well as in citizens, that manly independence which respects itself as a being accountable chiefly to God; but he looked upon the bravadoes of assumed consequence, and the miserable ambition of notoriety in wickedness, as beneath his contempt. It was a principle with him, while a member of the university, that a college rebellion *is never wise or right*. If the laws of an institution, or the executors of those laws, he argued, become so oppressive that I can no longer submit to them, let me, honorably, withdraw from their authority, and seek to correct abuses and redress grievances, by such means as the members of a free community, in common enjoy. But let me not, recklessly, resist 'the powers that be,' or, without counting the cost, commence a controversy, in which order and discipline must triumph, and discomfiture and mortification to myself will certainly ensue.

"Though a member of the university, at a time of unusual commo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion, he passed its ordeal without censure, and without injury to his morals or to his Christian character. He was known as a professor of religion, a full believer in the doctrines of the cross; — as such, his sentiments were treated with delicacy, and his habits of devotion and rigid adherence to principle, with respect." — pp. 26 – 29.

Mr. Stearns's physical constitution was feeble, and he was able to devote only an interrupted attention to the labors of the ministry, for several years after he had completed his professional studies. At length, in 1834, his health was so far restored, and his anxiety to engage in active duties had become so great, that he consented to accept an invitation from Boston, and was settled over the Old South Church, as their pastor. The ceremonies of the ordination, are described as peculiarly interesting and affecting. The discourse was delivered by Dr. Skinner, with whom Mr. Stearns had been long and intimately associated; the consecrating prayer was offered by his predecessor Dr. Wisner; the charge was given by his venerable father, the minister of Bedford; and the right hand of fellowship, by a younger brother, who had already been several years engaged in the duties of the clerical profession. The following passage is taken from a letter addressed to his parents shortly after his ordination.

"I cannot tell with what feelings I awoke, on the morning after you left me, in the consciousness that I was an ordained minister of the gospel, the authorized and responsible pastor of a numerous flock, appointed to care for their souls. Recollections of the past, and anticipations of the future, came rolling over me in strange combinations, and waves of emotion rolled through my heart, like a sea after a storm. I rose and dressed myself, and sat down at my window to muse, in silent astonishment, on the scene that lay before me. It was all enchantment. Directly under my eye was a wide field of the dead, covered with the monuments of generations past. There lay some of my own kindred. There lay one who was the companion of my infancy and childhood, who has often borne me in her arms, and led me to school, and amused me in my sports. There lay some of my predecessors, in the care and service of the church, — Huntington and Eckley, — and I know not how many of those who were before them. The green grass was springing up among their tombs, and over their graves, in the freshness of the morning, and the dew lay upon it, and the rising sun glittered on the drops, and the tombs and thick grave-stones threw their long shadows over the dead, as if to veil them from excessive brightness. In the corner opposite, Park Street Church, where I preached my first sermon in Boston, stood in its grandeur, and lifted its tall spire into the skies. Along the outer edge, a row of lofty elms spread out their venerable branches. Then the thronged street displayed itself, and the noise of wheels and hoofs had begun, incessant for the day. And next the crowded dwellings of the city rose in massy piles. Among them, and directly opposite my window, was to be seen in modest retirement, and almost shouldered into obscurity by more recent and im-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

posing structures, what was probably the mansion of some great one a century ago. The towers and steeples of ten or twelve churches or meetinghouses might be discerned at a glance, and among them the spire of my own, just rising over the top of the Tremont. Beyond them lay the harbour in full display of its beauty and glory, its islands and ships, — the *Castle*, the very spot with which is associated the most fascinating portion of the history of one of my grandfathers, the House of Industry and its companion, and near them the famous Heights of Dorchester, now included within the limits of the city. Around to the right, in one continued line, rising above all the building, were distinctly seen the hills of Dorchester, Roxbury, and Brookline. My eyes glanced over the distant and variegated scenery, and then returned, and rested on the pensive spot that lay immediately under my window. I gazed there, fixed in unremembered thought, and was lost, till the summons came for breakfast." — pp. 58, 59.

Mr. Stearns soon found that he had calculated too much on his supposed restoration to health. The duties and excitements of his office nearly prostrated the energies of his sensitive frame, and compelled him to forego them, and seek anew, in travel and repose, a renovation of spirits and strength. He visited, accordingly, many of the most interesting parts of the United States, and finally, in 1836, sailed for Europe, in company with Professor Stowe of Cincinnati. He travelled over England, Scotland, Germany, and France, and passed one winter in Italy, from which countries he addressed many agreeable letters to his family and friends. The editor has given, in the volume before us, a judicious selection from the journals which Mr. Stearns kept, of what interested him during his travels. But his constitution had been too far undermined by the advances of the most insidious and flattering of diseases, for any human means to restore it. After his return to Paris, in 1837, Mr. Stearns sunk rapidly, and died July 15th ; and with him perished many high expectations of usefulness to the cause of religion and letters.

The memoir, prefixed to this volume, is written by the Rev. Mr. Stearns of Cambridgeport. It is a pleasing tribute of affection to the memory of a departed brother, and is characterized by great simplicity and natural feeling. The letters of Mr. Stearns, the subject of the memoir, give us a delightful view of his moral and religious excellence, and the delicacy of his literary taste. His journals were written midst the hurry and excitement of travel ; but they abound in beautiful passages, and everywhere show the liveliest sensibility to the beauties of nature and the refinements of art. They were composed without the remotest idea of publication, and present to us, therefore, the fresh and unstudied expressions of the author's feelings, amidst the novelties of European capi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tals, and the historical monuments, which appealed to the most interesting associations of his early classical studies. The following passage was written the day after his arrival in Rome.

"*Sabbath morning, Jan.* 15. — Awoke this morning in Rome, with a full sense and consciousness of being really in Rome. What a deep, full tide of thoughts, recollections, and emotions! Nothing but weariness and lassitude, such as I felt too, could repress the flood. I sat down and read of Paul, and thought of Paul and the Cæsars. It was Paul, however, that now filled my mind; every thing around me, every monument, obelisk, column, portico, tower, dome, seemed associated with Paul. After meeting, returning to our hotel, I spent an hour or two in reading of Paul, in meditation and devotion, and then walked out upon the terrace upon the Pincian Hill, directly back of my lodgings, to indulge my eye and heart in solitary views and musings. Before and around me arose towers and columns and domes, — telling of the magnificence which has been, by the magnificence which still remains among ruins, and survives the wreck of conflagrations and wars and violence and rapine and earthquakes and floods. Above all, rose the majestic dome of St. Peter's, from which deep, full, solemn tones of vesper bells swelled on the ear like sounds from unearthly temples. The whole aspect of Rome is of fading greatness, — yet of greatness still imposing, — and still putting forth anew something of its pristine strength and splendor. It is as an 'archangel fallen, noble though in ruins.'

"Oh that I were free from the lassitude and depression and weakness and pains and encumbrances of disease, that my free spirit might go forth through this land of enchantment, and treasure up its rich remains! One singular impression has seemed to possess me more than all others, ever since my arrival, — an impression of being *at the centre of the world,* — the source of every thing great, — of good and of bad, — the *centre* and the *source!*" — pp. 134, 135.

A part of the volume is occupied with a selection from Mr. Stearns's Discourses. They are excellent specimens of pulpit eloquence, and breathe the purest spirit of the Christian religion. In point of style, they are remarkable for chasteness and elegance of expression, and methodical arrangement in the discussion of topics. They show careful study, and an almost fastidiously delicate taste, and prove clearly the author's conviction, that the graces of art were by no means out of keeping with the sacred subjects which he was called upon to illustrate. But these discourses have a higher value than their worth as literary compositions. They show us how natural it is for an enlarged and cultivated mind, however strong its own conviction of truth may be, to treat others who hold different opinions, with a delicate regard for their individual rights.

Take the volume together, it furnishes us with a portrait of a character, remarkable for fortitude, grace, and sweetness. The long protracted agonies of lingering disease, and deferred

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hope, were borne by Mr. Stearns with the most submissive spirit, and the final sentence was received with Christian heroism. The book which records his trials, and labors, and virtues, will be read with pleasure and profit, not only by the sect of Christians with whom he was particularly united, but by all to whom purity of mind, and refinement of intellect are dear.

---

2. — *Second Report on the Geology of the State of Maine.* By Charles T. Jackson, M. D., Member of the Geological Society of France ; of the Imperial Mineralogical Society, St. Petersburg ; of the Boston Society of Natural History, &c. &c. Augusta, (Me.) : Luther Severance. 8vo. pp. 168.

Dr. Jackson's first Report on the geology of Maine was noticed in a former Number of our Journal.* We are happy to meet him again in a field in which he is eminently qualified to labor. We congratulate him and the States to which he is devoting his services, on the success which attends his labors in that most interesting science, which he has so much contributed to advance and adorn.

He resumed the survey early in June of 1837, assisted by Mr. James T. Hodge, on the part of Massachusetts, — which State, it will be recollected, made provisions for a geological examination of her public lands in Maine, — and by Mr. William C. Larrabee for the latter State; and prosecuted it through the season, with zeal, and, as the Report before us shows, with great ability and success. Mr. Hodge, a young gentleman of high promise as a geologist and chemist, who was employed as an assistant the preceding year, was commissioned by Dr. Jackson to make a tour through the State wild lands to the river St. Lawrence. Having set out from Oldtown in a *bâteau*, he proceeded up the Penobscot to Moosehead Lake, and thence through the long chain of lakes which supply the Allagash stream, and down that river to the St. John ; whence he ascended the Madawaska, crossed into Canada, and then returned by the St. François and down the St. John River to Woodstock. This route was one of danger and hardship, as well as of interest. While Mr. Hodge was engaged in this expedition, Dr. Jackson and Mr. Larrabee devoted themselves to an examination of the settled portions of the State, and subsequently Dr. Jackson spent two months on the wild lands belonging to the two States in common.

* Vol. XLV. pp. 240 - 243.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Embracing a wide extent of territory, based upon so many different rock formations, Maine possesses great mineral wealth, so far at least as the more useful minerals are concerned. It abounds in granite of a most excellent quality, of every variety of color and shade required for architecture; and it enjoys extraordinary facilities, afforded by the numerous bays, deep inlets, and estuaries of large navigable rivers, for the ready transportation of the stone to market. Consequently, the granite of Maine is destined to find a market along the whole Atlantic coast of the United States, and in the West Indies. It is already shipped in great quantities to New York, as well as Boston, and is beginning to be carried to Havana. Many of the quarries, says the Report, can furnish regular dimension stones, of excellent granite, on board ship, for $ 1,12 per ton, and the expense of transportation to New York is rarely more than $2,50 per ton. There are few cities where this will not sell for at least $ 7 per ton; and for columns, and other stones of large dimensions, 90 cents per cubic foot has been paid.

Limestone and marble are also found in Maine, in exhaustless abundance. Of the numerous quarries of limestone beginning to be wrought, those of Thomaston are perhaps the most celebrated. The Report estimates, that there are "no less than fourteen million dollars' worth of limestone within twenty feet of the surface, in Thomaston"; and states, that already, while but a trifling proportion of the stone is exported, nearly half a million of dollars are annually realized from the sales of lime."

Roofing slate, as we also observed in our notice of Dr. Jackson's former Report, can be furnished by Maine in sufficient abundance, to supply, to any conceivable demand, the whole United States. Bangor, in Wales, has hitherto enjoyed the exclusive privilege of supplying the world with roofing-slates; but it is certain, according to the Report, that she will find a powerful rival in the Bangor of our sister State. The slate of Maine is said to be equal to the best Welsh slates, and can be furnished in Boston at $ 11 per ton, while the latter sell at $ 27 per ton.

"We observed," says the Report, "that most of the houses in Bangor, and other cities of the State, are covered with Welsh slates, that were first imported into New York or Boston, and there purchased and transported to Maine. A few years hence this will appear equally absurd with the fact, that our fathers used to send to Wales for grave-stones, and the good Dutchmen of New York to Holland for brick. Indeed, we need not go so far from home; for, less than twenty years ago, I am told, that it was customary to send from Hallowell to Quincy for granite or sienite, to make underpinnings to the houses in that town, and to this day Quincy supplies Maine with tombstones!"—p. 117.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On Deer Isle, occurs an enormous mass of serpentine, which has been thrown up through the granite. This rock, says the Report, is identical with the highly prized marble, known under the name of *verd-antique*. It is of a deep olive green color, with many lines of asbestus and spots of yellow diallage.

Hone slate, or novaculite, we learn from the survey, useful for oilstones, is extremely abundant in Maine, equal in quality with that brought from the Mediterranean, known under the name of Turkey oilstone, which sells in Boston for fifty cents a pound.

Felspar, suitable for the manufacture of fine porcelain or china ware, is abundant in Maine, and is stated to be much more pure than the kind used at the porcelain works of Sèvres, in France.

Horn-stone, which may be used for flints, occurs in various parts of the State.

"The largest mass of this stone known in the world, is Mount Kineo, upon the Moosehead Lake, which appears to be entirely composed of it, and rises seven hundred feet above the lake level. This variety of horn-stone I have seen in every part of New England, in the form of Indian arrow-heads, hatchets, chisels, &c., which were probably obtained from this mountain by the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. It breaks with a sharp cutting edge, and appears well adapted to the uses for which it was employed." — p. 125.

Valuable ores of iron are found in different parts of Maine, in great abundance and extent. As a specimen of these, we would refer to the one discovered by Dr. Jackson at Woodstock, which we noted in examining his Report of the preceding year. This one, which is the red hæmatite, he has since analyzed, and found to contain 53 per cent. of iron. A similar bed has been discovered on the Aroostook river, thirty-six feet wide, and of immense and unknown length. This latter ore, in the opinion of Dr. Jackson, will yield iron equal in quality to the best Swedish, and capable of being wrought into the finest steel.

Agricultural geology, a subject which was commenced in the preceding Report, has received a very great share of attention in the one before us. Dr. Jackson is, we believe, the first geologist in this country, who, in making a geological survey, has given any considerable attention to this subject, so important to a correct knowledge of the science of agriculture. He has made an extensive collection of soils, illustrating their geological origin, their distribution, chemical composition, and capabilities. This is a subject of much practical importance, and one which should never be overlooked in an agricultural country.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Many facts highly interesting in a scientific point of view are given in the Report, two or three of which only we have room to allude to. Among these, we would instance the diluvial grooves, noted on pages 28, 50, 59, 65, 91, 95, and 96, observed on the surfaces of rocks in different parts of the State, all running in a direction nearly parallel, from northwest to southeast; the interesting tertiary formations, mentioned on pages 24–27, 76, 95, and 98; the remarkable trap-dikes, noticed on pages 55, 71, 72, 87, &c.; and also the discovery of bituminous coal, detected, as it were, in the very process of formation. This last mentioned discovery is one of so much importance in explaining the origin of coal, that we cannot forbear quoting the whole paragraph relating to it.

"In Limerick, we examined the peat bogs on the estate of Mr. Ebenezer Adams, where a very remarkable substance is found resembling exactly the Cannel coal. It is found at the depth of three feet from the surface of the peat bog, amid the remains of rotten logs and beaver sticks, showing that it belongs to the recent epoch. The peat is twenty feet deep, and rests upon white siliceous sand. This recent coal was found while digging a ditch to drain a portion of the bog, for the sake of obtaining peat as a manure. About a peck of it was saved, and served to supply us with specimens. On examination, I found, that it was formed from the bark of some tree allied to the American fir, the structure of which may be readily discovered by polishing sections of the coal, so that they may be examined by the microscope. It contains, in 100 grains, bitumen 72, carbon 21, ox. iron, 4, silica 1, ox. manganese 2.

"This substance is a true bituminous coal, containing more bitumen than is found in any other coal known. I suppose it to have been formed by the chemical changes supervening upon fir-balsam, during its long immersion in the humid peat.

"The discovery of the recent formation of bituminous coal, cuts the gordian knot which geologists and chemists are endeavouring to unravel, and shows that the process is still going on."— pp. 80, 81.

Dr. Jackson has resumed the survey this season, and we shall look with interest for the result of his labors. The geological survey of Maine, completed in the masterly manner in which it has thus far been prosecuted, will be a monument to the honor of science, and must confer lasting benefits on the States under whose authority it is accomplished.

3.— *Romanze*. 1838. Cambridge. Folsom, Wells, e Thurston, Stampatori dell' Università. 18mo. pp. 47.

ITALIAN verses from a Yankee press, — and not only published, but actually produced, among us! Tender exotics these, for our bleak atmosphere; and their appearance must

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be allowed to imply a considerable degree of literary refinement in a people who can supply a market for them. This little volume modestly comes into the world without the name of its author. We understand this, however, to be Signor Mariotti, an Italian gentleman, already favorably known here by a course of lectures, which are considered as exhibiting a nice discrimination of the beauties of his native literature. The poems before us are mostly in the form of ballads, or rather lays, compounded somewhat of the Provençal style and that of the old Norman *fabliaux*. Their subjects are borrowed in part, indeed, from these Norman themes; and one, not the happiest among them in its execution, from our own history, being dedicated to the Lady Arabella Johnstone, of Pilgrim memory. We select a few stanzas from the first poem in the book, in which Richard Cœur-de-Lion's squire, Blondel, discovers the place of his master's confinement, by chanting the verses of a favorite song.

"Tutto tace, la pace discende
Colle tenebre sull' universo;
La man stanca le corde riprende,
Si rinfranca la lena del verso;
E sugli occhi del bardo disperso
Si diffonde di lagrime un vel;
'Donna, negli occhi vostri
Tanta virtude ardea,
Sì tenero, sì puro
Il labbro sorridea,
Che un primo sguardo, un riso,
Conquiso a voi mi diè.'

"Era il canto che il pianto solea
Trar dall' imo del Cor-di-Leone, —
Era il canto che al bardo valea
Dalle dame sorrisi e corone; —
Della Croce non havvi campione,
Cui quel canto non costi un sospir.

"Ma ecco, accetto al cospetto Divino
E' salito del bardo il dolore; —
Non è l' eco del monte vicino,
Non è il suon che sul lago si muore;
E' una voce ben nota al suo core,
Dalle torre la voce del Sir;
'Deh! se così si mostri
Benigno il Cielo a vui,
Voi pur pietosa cura
Muova de' mali altrui,
Dei lunghi miei martiri
V' inspiri amor mercè!'

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Lieve, lieve, sul greve aer fosco
Suona il carme del re prigioniero;
Ai suoi giorni pasciuti di tosco
Il futuro traluce men nero;
Di speranza un balen passeggero
Dio clemente gl' invia nel martir." — pp. 7, 8.

Another *chanson* is occupied with the subject, if we recollect aright, of one of the ancient *fabliaux;* in which, the Crusader, Raoul de Couci, having ordered his heart after his death to be carried to his mistress, the messenger unfortunately falls into the hands of the lady's husband, who causes the said heart of her true knight to be regularly dressed, and served up to her, whether as a *pâté de foie gras,* or what other savoury mess, the minstrel doth not say. The lady's lament on the discovery, concludes with a stanza striking enough;

"Dio vincente, Tu vieni; conosco
Questa calma foriera di morte;
Ecco, l' alma omai libera e forte
Ogni senso d' affanno perdè.
Oh! nel mar del perdono infinito
Tu ricovra uno spirto smarrito,
Di gran pianto riscatto ti reco,
Egli è teco, — in' accogli con Te!" — pp. 26, 27.

There are several other pieces, suggested by passing topics, executed with much grace and facility, and discovering, apparently, much skill in the management of the versification. This is a point, however, on which it would be perilous for a foreigner to decide. But it is obvious to any one, that there is a rich vein of poetic sensibility in the author, which we trust will not be suffered to lie neglected. We may add, that his turn of thinking has, to our apprehension, an air of originality quite pleasing, from a certain English coloring, mixed up with the Italian in these little pictures, and derived, no doubt, from his familiarity with good English models.

The volume is very beautifully got up and printed at the press of the University in Cambridge, the uncommon accuracy of which, in foreign languages, as well as the vernacular, may well be a subject of congratulation to every scholar.

---

4. — *The Principles of Political Economy,* by Henry Vethake, LL. D., one of the Professors in the University of Pennsylvania, a Member of the American Philosophical Society, &c. Philadelphia: P. H. Nicklin and T. Johnson. 8vo. pp. 415.

Professor Vethake's treatise gives a very comprehensive view of the topics embraced by the science of political econo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

my. He arranges them in a distinct method ; and the space and importance assigned to each topic specifically treated of is, generally, in sufficiently just proportion. We say *generally*, for there are exceptions. The tariff question and banking, for instance, occupy very great space, owing no doubt to the special interest excited by these subjects at the present time. Other exceptions also grow out of the author's particular views and theories. The all-important and decisive influence of the national genius and habits of thinking and action, and prevalent maxims and principles of conduct, whereby the impulse given to affairs triumphs over disturbing causes from without and within, is not presented in its just magnitude. Where the concerns of a nation are conducted in a deep, strong, favorable current of the national energies and impulses, progress may be made notwithstanding the mismanagement of the sails, oars, and rudder. This is precisely and preëminently the case in the United States, where the spontaneous, productive, onward energies are in greater activity than in any other country.

Though the author does not wholly overlook this part of his subject, he does not, it seems to us, exhibit it in sufficiently bold relief. Some writers on economy, as our readers are aware, maintain, that the natural current of industry and action is so precisely in the right direction, that any attempt to shape the course and accelerate the progress, retards the navigation ; in other words, that there is in every community a sort of divine, unerring, economical instinct, which is to be respected as sacred, and which never can be assisted by effort or science, the truest science being to regard it as *tabooed* mystery, not to be touched or approached without profanity. Now we do not find fault with Mr. Vethake, for not falling more into a blind worship of what is mysteriously and unintelligibly called, the *natural state* or *course*, that is, *rest* or *motion, of things*. To this he is sufficiently inclined. On the contrary, whatever the doctrine adopted may be, whether the writer maintains, on the one hand, that all the beautiful fabric of civilized society is a spontaneous growth from the instincts and unguided and unassisted propensions of individuals, and that any attempt to direct or stimulate these instinctive tendencies only embarrasses them ; — or, on the other hand, that all that civilized man is, and does, and has, is artificial, forced, invented, the result of design, of nature working according to art and science ; that the artificial state of man is his natural state ; and that, in regard to economy as well as morals, there is no possibility of the *Let me alone* policy, in the extreme sense, since the *not doing* is as positive an *act*, and fraught with as positive consequences as the *doing*, and that all the acts and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

neglects of the legislature, the judiciary, the executive, the police, the municipal corporations, the religious, charitable, commercial, agricultural and economical, scientific and literary associations, have a direct or remote, and never remitting influence upon the productive faculties and economical well-being of the community ; — whichever of these general views a writer on economy may adopt, it is incumbent on him to go on and trace out the operation of the causes, whether originating in instinct or reason, in the conduct of individuals, or combinations of men, or governments, and show how they bear upon the general welfare. Now we apprehend that it will be found, that, what are sometimes in a loose phraseology called the *moral* causes, that is, the character, in other words, habits, opinions, maxims, principles of action, prejudices, tastes, antipathies, and predilections, of the inhabitants of a country, will have a powerful, and usually a predominating influence upon the general welfare. Here is the power, the *steam* if you please, on which the whole progress depends ; and the functions of the fireman and engineer, are no less essential than those of the pilot and the captain. The pilot may carry you out of the course, or run you aground ; but if he direct the helm so as to preserve the course, it will be to no purpose, unless the propelling power is maintained. Now in economy, it is the great propelling power, the individual, national *man*, that has been too little considered; and, though Mr. Vethake has given him more attention than a majority of authors on the same subject, still he occupies too little space.

Mr. Vethake adopts many of the leading free-trade doctrines, and the whole of the argument, which he considers to be a demonstration. He, however, dissents from the dogmas of the straitest sect in some particulars. He is in favor of duties on imports sufficient to give stability to the national industry, so that it may not be alternately established and broken up on the succession of war and peace ; and he thinks, if a discrimination is made in levying duties, it ought to be so made, as to favor the production of articles of necessity and for national defence. He also thinks literature and science should be encouraged. This is opening a common ground, from which the tariff party, and the free-trade party, may start; and, such a common ground being once established, the animosity between the two parties will soon cease, though they should not precisely agree. This is a most desirable result, no less for the quiet and welfare of the country, than for the progress of political economy.

Again, on the subject of the poor-laws, Mr. Vethake dissents from the school with which he most generally coincides in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doctrine, their creed being, that all compulsory provision for the poor is radically and totally pernicious. They eulogize private charity, and of course mendicity, the school of vice and crimes, and the most baneful canker of a community. The practical doctrine of this school is, that only the humane shall be saddled with the support of the distressed. Mr. Vethake thinks some public provision may be expedient, though with an apparently hesitating deference to the shallow dogma just mentioned, which grew out of the abuses in the administration of the English poor-laws. It is the usual effect of a flagrant public abuse, when once detected, to give rise to a very extravagant, and often absurd, opinion in the opposite direction.

We began to note what appeared to us to be erroneous or inconsistent positions and doctrines of the author, for the purpose of expressing our dissent in noticing the work; but our list swelled too fast. Many of these are the common-place standard forms of words, that float down the dull current of political economy again and again, with each successive explorer of this Niger of the sciences; such as, that a regulation of government cannot create capital, but only divert it from one course to another; that the capital of a country is a fixed quantity; that the value of the circulating medium, whether greater or less in quantity, and whatever in kind, always bears a certain proportion to the whole capital of the community; that population has a natural tendency to increase more rapidly than food and clothing; that banks can *expand*, that is, *augment*, circulating medium at pleasure, though Mr. Vethake says, not indefinitely; that facility of credit is identical with augmentation of the amount of currency; that one employment is as useful to the community as another; that there is a *natural* period for introducing the useful arts into a community. Most of these will be esteemed to be obviously erroneous, we think; some will hesitate at the first, namely, that a legislative act cannot create capital, which seems plausible and is often repeated, and yet clearly erroneous; for not only legislative acts, but the judicial administration of the laws, the invention of a useful machine, and a thousand other influences that work through the community, *create* capital by increasing or giving greater effect to industry.

There are not wanting inconsistencies in the positions and doctrines; the most glaring of which is, the condemnation of government bills of credit, or what used to be called *continental* money, and yet very much extolling the Sub-treasury project. It is palpable, that a treasury bank, and a treasury circulating medium, is nothing more nor less than government paper money. And no doctrine is better settled, than that govern-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment paper money is by all means to be eschewed, as long as the wind can be raised in any other way. Mr. Vethake's notions upon this subject shake our confidence in his conclusions generally.

---

5. — 1. ***Report on a Reëxamination of the Economical Geology of Massachusetts.*** By EDWARD HITCHCOCK, Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 139.

2. ***Reports of the Commissioners on the Zoölogical Survey of the State.*** Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 107.

IN the month of April, of the last year, nearly at the close of a long session, a resolve was passed, and an appropriation made by the Legislature of Massachusetts, for the continuation of the Geological Survey of the State, and for a Botanical and Zoölogical Survey. The general object, as expressed, not very definitely, in the resolve, was the agricultural benefit of the State. The special object of the continuance of the Geological Survey was the discovery of coal, marl, and ores, and the analysis of the soils. This part of the work was therefore committed to the eminent geologist, whose "Report on the Geology of Massachusetts" has been so long and so favorably known.* It is executed in such a manner as might have been expected, from the practical good sense and scientific habits of Professor Hitchcock. Abandoning, after a great number of unsatisfactory trials, the modes of analysis that have been in use since the time of Sir Humphrey Davy, and which have been felt, probably, by nearly all who have used them, to fall far short of the ends in view in the analysis of soils, Professor Hitchcock adopted methods, the object of which was to ascertain the amount of soluble or insoluble *geine* in the soils; that is, the amount of "decomposed organic matter" existing in the soil, in such a state as to be directly absorbed by plants, or to be absorbed after being combined with the alkaline earths, alumina, or the metallic oxides, and acted on by air and moisture. For these methods of analysis Professor Hitchcock gives credit to Dr. Dana, of Lowell, to whose practical skill and experience they are almost entirely due. We venture to predict, that the striking and original observations of Dr. Dana, upon the substance and action of *geine*, and his clear and sim-

* For a notice of that work, see *North American Review*, Vol. XLII. pp. 422 et seq.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ple rules of analysis, will be better known hereafter ; indeed, that they will modify, at least to a very considerable degree, every work on economical geology which shall hereafter be produced. Their strong practical bearing, and the marks which they exhibit, of being the deductions of one profoundly familiar with chemical science, and accustomed to verify his conclusions in the laboratory, and to look also for their verification in the great operations of nature, cannot but strike any person, however superficially acquainted with the elements of chemical philosophy.

The greater part of the Report is occupied with the conclusions, drawn from a laborious application of these methods to a very large number of specimens of soil from various parts of the State. There are also several valuable notices of minerals brought to light since the publication of the First Report.

The Reports on the Zoölogical Survey, are all professedly incomplete. They are short communications to the Executive, or to the Chairman of the Commissioners, from the several individuals to whom was committed the Zoölogical Survey ; apparently printed for the information of the Legislature, not in a shape to be made public, and, seemingly, not prepared in the expectation that they would be.

The greater part of the first, the Report of Dr. Emmons, seems to have been made expressly to satisfy the requisition of the resolve of the Legislature, that the work should be for the "agricultural benefit of the State." It is a pretty full natural history of the ox. This is followed by very exact and scientific descriptions of several of the more remarkable native quadrupeds. Taken as a specimen of what may be expected in a final report, these are very satisfactory. Indeed, they are precisely what is wanted and looked for from our naturalists. The accounts that have usually been given of our native animals are entirely vague and popular ; so that, in regard to very many of them, the foreign naturalist has no means of knowing whether they are identical with the animals of Europe or not.

"It is to the resident American naturalist," says Dr. Richardson, in a Report on North American Zoölogy, read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1836,— "it is to the resident American naturalist, that we especially look for a correct history of the animals which surround him." — "The American zoölogist will do good service to the branch of science which he cultivates, if, like the immortal Cuvier, trusting solely to his own power of observation, he sits down, on his own shore, to dissect, examine, and reason for himself."

This is just what Dr. Emmons has done with the few animals he describes in this Report ; and if he will do the same some-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what at length for all the native quadrupeds, he will accomplish a work much needed, and of course most acceptable to the general naturalist. While engaged in his explorations in the northern region of New York, where he is now employed as geologist, he will find opportunities of studying the habits of the native animals, rarely enjoyed.

Dr. Storer, in his Report, takes "a glance at those fishes in our waters, which are of value to this people," but gives no descriptions. He has collected, at some length, the statistics of the fisheries, and proved their very great importance to the State; and, by the survey he gives, shows how diligently he is employed in collecting materials for a scientific history. This very interesting and most neglected department seems therefore likely to receive the attention it deserves, and we shall look eagerly for the completion of the work he has begun.

Dr. Harris confines his attention to the history and habits of those insects, of the order *coleoptera*, which are injurious to vegetation in Massachusetts. So far as he has gone, he has left nothing to desire. Nothing can have a more direct bearing upon the "agricultural benefit," than this reconnoitring of the enemy in his own quarters; and Dr. Harris has given descriptions, which will be at the same time satisfactory to the entomologist, and intelligible and available to the farmer.

What is called Mr. Peabody's Report is only a letter, a very interesting one, certainly, from that gentleman to the Chairman of the Commission, on what he conceives to be the practical objects of the Survey on Ornithology. In regard to the last of them which he enumerates, we will let Mr. Peabody speak for himself.

"But a more important object of the Survey is, to ascertain, with respect to many birds which man pursues with unrelenting vengeance, whether they are really as injurious as is commonly supposed. The crow, the grakles, and other birds of that description, do certainly make havoc with the corn. The cedar birds, robins, cat-birds, and others make large demands upon the garden; but it is certain, that the grubs which they devour, would, if suffered to live, destroy all the promise of the year; and, while we have nothing but the birds to protect us from these destroyers, there are some means already known, and many others will be discovered, to prevent the birds from taking more than their share.

"If any one will consider the subject, he will see, that insects are by far the most formidable enemy man has to contend with. The moscheto, for example, occasions far more suffering, and is actually more feared than the lion. Other enemies, equally contemptible, are busy throughout the summer, torturing our beasts to madness, and destroying the comfort of man. The birds are the instruments commissioned to keep down their numbers; and, if they are exterminated, how is this work to be done? It may be said, that, if the injurious

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

birds are destroyed, harmless ones will still labor in that vocation; but the misfortune is, that all together are not sufficient for the purpose, and, if any are exterminated, the evil will grow.

"It is well known, that the cultivation of fruit is regarded as hopeless by many, and found discouraging by all who attempt it. And the reason is, not that the birds plunder the trees, but that insects destroy them. The insects then, and not the birds, are the proper subjects of extermination. Means may be found to prevent the birds from taking more than their portion of the fruit, but it is not probable that human agency can contend with the millions of the insect race. If so, we are taking the part of our enemies against our friends; and it may be our persecution of the birds, which has caused the insects to increase in numbers to such an extent, that many doubt, whether, under present circumstances, the more delicate kinds of fruit are worth the trouble and expense of cultivation." — pp. 32, 33.

Dr. Gould's Report, also, is only a letter, containing a catalogue of the additions made to the known shells of Massachusetts, within two years, by himself, Couthouy, and others, and serving as an indication of what is doing in that department.

The Commissioners for the Botanical Survey have made no Report.

We are glad to learn, that the continuance of the Survey is authorized for another year, and we hope it will be carried on, from year to year, until it shall be completed.

---

6. — 1. *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Vol. IV. — An Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island. By John Callender, M. A. With a Memoir of the Author, Biographical Notices of some of his distinguished Contemporaries, and Annotations and original Documents, illustrative of the History of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, from the first Settlement of the Country to the End of the First Century.* By Romeo Elton, M. A. Providence: Knowles, Vose, & Co. 1838. 8vo. pp. 270.

2. *Act of Incorporation and Constitution and By-Laws of the Kentucky Historical Society, organized March,* 1838, *at Louisville, Kentucky.* Louisville: Prentice & Weissinger. 12mo. pp. 12.

The Rhode Island Historical Society, though among the youngest of a somewhat numerous tribe, is, with the single exception of the parent society of Massachusetts, the most vigorous and prolific of the number. The last-named society now issues regularly an annual volume, having just reached the twenty-sixth; and its sister of Rhode Island, though instituted

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only a few years since, has already published four volumes, of considerable value and interest, containing, among other papers, "Roger Williams's Key to the Indian Languages"; Groton's book, entitled, "Simplicity's Defence against the Seven-headed Policy"; and "The early History of Narragansett," by Elisha R. Potter, Esquire. The fourth volume, which has just appeared, and the title of which we have given at length, at the head of this article, yields in importance to none of its predecessors. Though a brief work, being, in fact, nothing more nor less than a century sermon, delivered one hundred years ago, it is remarkable, as being the only history of the State that has yet been written. Never having been reprinted since its first appearance, in 1739, copies of it had become exceedingly rare; and the Society have therefore done wisely in incorporating it in their Collections, and thus putting it within the reach of that rapidly increasing class of students among us, who are investigating the early history of the country.

The Reverend John Callender, the author of the "Historical Discourse," was born in Boston, in the year 1706, where his grandfather and uncle had been successively ministers of the First Baptist Church. He entered Harvard College at the age of thirteen, and graduated in 1723. In the same year he was baptized, on a profession of faith, united himself with the church of which his uncle had the pastoral charge, and, in June, 1727, was licensed by that church to preach. After supplying, for a year and a half, the pulpit of the Baptist Church in Swansey, the oldest in Massachusetts, he was ordained, in October, 1731, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Newport, the second of that denomination in America, where he continued till his death, in 1748, in the 42d year of his age.

Mr. Callender's "Historical Discourse," which he published at the age of thirty-three, is distinguished by the greatest merit, which such a work can have, namely, its entire accuracy. The editor of this volume, with all his sharp-sightedness and pains-taking, has been able to detect but a single error, and that of a very trifling nature, relating to the Christian name of an individual, (p. 97,) and which, after all, is merely the typographical substitution of an E for a T. Mr. Callender is likewise one of the fairest and most impartial of historians. Even in relating the real or fancied wrongs of the first settlers of Rhode Island, he does it with entire freedom from passion or resentment, and is willing to admit, that there may have been faults on both sides. Though standing up stoutly for the brave little colony of his adoption, he is not blind to the substantial

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

merits and claims of the good old colony of Massachusetts Bay. In his statement of religious opinions, he is singularly candid, and is full of charity towards opposing sects. "Let us study," says he, "for peace, and to promote mutual love among Christians of every denomination. We should love all of Christ we see in them." (p. 166.) Again; "It is a grief to a Christian, as it is a scandal to the whole world, to see Christians (so called) full of envy and malice, hating and reviling one another, and smiting with the fist of wickedness. This, when all is said and done, is a more full and just argument, that such have no part in Christ, than any supposed orthodoxy of opinion can be of their interest in him." (p. 168.) And in another place he says, "It is certainly a reproach to Christians, that they can be so zealously affected about the things which are peculiar and distinguishing to each sect respectively, and yet be so cold and negligent of those wherein they all agree. It is reasonable to suppose those doctrines and duties, which all agree in, are the most important and essential." (p. 170.)

Upon the whole, the volume, with its accompanying documents and illustrations, is well worthy of perusal, and deserves a place in every library of American history.

In the establishment of the Kentucky Historical Society, we are glad to welcome a new laborer into the common field; and, from our knowledge of the youthful ardor and perseverance of some of its associates, we anticipate, in coming years, a rich harvest of antiquarian and historical information. We hope, that it will meet, in the great valley of the West, with the co-operation and encouragement which so useful and commendable an enterprise deserves.

---

7. — *Statistical Tables, exhibiting the Condition and Products of certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts, for the Year ending April 1st*, 1837. Boston. 8vo. pp. 212.

This pamphlet is the fruit of the first systematic attempt, which has been made by the government of Massachusetts, to ascertain the annual amount of the products of manufacturing industry within the State. It embraces also the products of two or three other branches of industry, viz. wool, which is usually classed among the products of agriculture; and fish, and oil, the products of the fisheries. The other productions of agriculture, and of the collateral branches of labor, such as the dairy, and many household manufactures, and those of navigation and commerce, are not included. The fruits of the various me-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chanic arts employed in building, the labors of the saw-mill and grist-mill, and various other branches of productive industry, are also excluded from the enumeration. It therefore falls far short of affording a full view of the productive industry of the commonwealth; but, as far as its professed scope extends, it appears to be full, and nearly complete.

This interesting addition to the statistics of the country, consists of an abstract of the official returns made by the assessors of the cities and towns of the State, in conformity with a prescribed form, in obedience to a special law assigning to them this duty. The returns having been made to the Secretary of State, John P. Bigelow, Esquire, the abstract and digest of the mass of materials has been prepared and published under his direction, in a very clear and satisfactory form. The example of this publication, both in its object and mode of execution, is deserving of imitation by the other States.

The most extensive branch of industry in Massachusetts, and that which employs the greatest number of hands, is undoubtedly agriculture. The fruits of this branch of labor are appropriated, in the first place, to the subsistence of those immediately employed in it; and the greater part of the surplus is demanded for consumption either within the immediate neighbourhood of its production, or for the supply of the large towns within the State. Large quantities of beef and pork, and considerable quantities of certain other kinds of agricultural produce, have heretofore been exported from the State, and the export has not yet entirely ceased. Large quantities of grain and flour are annually brought into the State for consumption; and, of the latter article, a very large proportion of the farmers themselves obtain their supplies from abroad; but of most of the other species of agricultural produce, for which the climate is adapted, the State of Massachusetts produces nearly an adequate supply for the subsistence of all its inhabitants. Large quantities of these productions, however, are brought from the neighbouring States, but, at the same time, large quantities are exported. Of the extent and productiveness of this great branch of industry, — the amount of capital invested in it, — the number or proportion of the population which it employs, — the amount of its produce demanded for home consumption, or of the surplus which is exchanged for the other means of living, — this volume affords us no information. These are statistics which the Legislature did not attempt to obtain, probably from the difficulty, and perhaps impossibility, of obtaining them with accuracy.

The next important branch of industry in Massachusetts is its navigation. The statistics of this branch, being accurately

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

furnished by the reports of the National Treasury Department, derived from the Custom House returns, it was not necessary to embrace them in the inquiries ordered by the State government. It appears from these sources, that the amount of shipping owned in the ports of the State of Massachusetts, is 490,588 tons; of which 214,093 tons are employed in foreign trade; 104,323 in the whale fishery; 96,095 tons in the coasting trade; and the residue, in nearly equal proportions, in the cod and mackerel fisheries. Of the whole tonnage of the United States, employed in the foreign trade and whale fishery, more than a third part is owned in Massachusetts; and of the whole tonnage, Massachusetts owns more than a quarter part.

Another important branch of industry in Massachusetts, is commerce. Of the number of persons and amount of capital employed in foreign commerce, in commerce with the other States, and in the various branches of domestic trade, there are no means of forming an accurate estimate. The amount of capital employed in the trade between one foreign country and another, and in importing foreign products for reëxportation, is less than at some former periods. Our domestic manufactures have absorbed a portion of the capital formerly thus employed, and the state of universal peace which has prevailed for many years, has afforded less opportunity for American enterprise abroad, than was presented to them during the long previous period of European war. Still, a very large amount of capital is employed in foreign commerce, and the trade with the other States of the Union is every year increasing. The capital and industry thus employed, and that employed in the strictly domestic trade, is not embraced within the scope of the present volume.

There is another description of industry, embracing the manufacture of a variety of articles for the immediate use, either of the manufacturers or their employers, a great part of which appears not to be embraced in the returns in this volume. The products thus manufactured do not become articles of merchandise, and are not produced in such quantities, as to be readily made the subject of an accurate general estimate. They nevertheless constitute, in the aggregate, a large amount of valuable products of industry, which, in an accurate estimate of the whole productive labor of the State, ought not to be overlooked.

With these exceptions, the volume now under consideration embraces an enumeration, with the estimated quantity, of the various fruits of labor in the State of Massachusetts; with the number of persons employed, and the amount of capital invested in producing it; the quantity of the several articles in each

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

city and town being distinctly specified. Of this enumeration and estimate the following is a condensed general statement, the articles being classified for the sake of brevity.

ARTICLES MANUFACTURED.	ANNUAL VALUE.	PERSONS EMPLOYED.	CAPITAL INVESTED.
Anchors, chains, axes, scythes, iron castings, nails, &c.	$4,625,846	2,829	$3,767,463
Brass, copper, Britannia, tin, and silver ware, buttons, cards, cutlery, jewelry, machinery, muskets, ploughs, shovels, tools, &c.	5,435,637	4,766	2,852,304
Carriages, casks, chairs, and cabinet ware, lumber, organs and pianos, window-blinds, wooden ware, &c.	2,885,231	3,915	595,090
Candles, soap, cordage, drugs, combs, brushes, beer, &c.	3,318,148	1,927	1,634,765
Clothing, bonnets, hats, caps, umbrellas, and upholstery,	4,903,338	5,253	1,041,838
Boots, shoes, leather, and saddles,	18,248,506	41,624	2,143,248
Cotton goods, cotton printing and batting,	17,409,001	21,565	15,986,719
Woollen goods and wool,	10,939,496	7,097	8,613,528
Fisheries, whale, cod, and mackerel,	7,592,290	20,126	12,484,078
Oil, salt, spirits, refined sugar, snuff, cigars, and varnish,	4,727,824	1,349	2,281,212
Books and stationery, paper, types, and stereotype plates,	2,749,370	2,411	2,217,500
Stone, glass, gunpowder, looking-glasses, gold leaf, spectacles, India rubber, engravings, &c.	2,083,741	2,172	1,253,002
Ship-building,	1,370,649	567	
Total,	$86,289,011	115,521	$54,870,747

The last item, ship-building, is given as the average of five years. The rest are stated as the produce of the year ending April 1, 1837. A like return of the succeeding year would exhibit a sad decline, many of the manufactures having been suspended, or the work greatly reduced, in consequence of the failure of demand for the articles produced.

The number of persons employed in these branches of industry, according to the return, was 115,521. Had the returns been as complete in this particular, as in the amount of produce, the number would have amounted to probably 120,000. Of this number probably near 50,000 were females, although only about 35,000 are designated as such in the returns, leaving 70,000 for males. Of the females, 14,757 are returned as employed in the cotton manufacture, 3,611 in the woollen, 15,361 in the manufacture of shoes, and 605 in that of paper. The number of 50,000 may be considered as embracing nearly the whole number of females, who are employed in the various branches of productive industry, exclusive of those which are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strictly domestic, and connected with the duties of the household. The 70,000 males embraced in the above estimate, probably constitute about a third part of the industrious male population of the State, including men and boys past the age of attending on the schools. On this supposition, there are 140,000 male persons in the Commonwealth, employed in other branches of productive industry than those embraced in these returns.

8.—*History of Kennebunk Port, from its first Discovery, by Bartholomew Gosnold, May 14th, 1602, to A. D. 1837.* By Charles Bradbury. Kennebunk: James K. Remich. 1837. 12mo. pp. 301.

This is the largest and most important town history that has appeared in Maine, with the exception of Willis's "Portland," and Folsom's "Saco and Biddeford." It appears to be the result of much original investigation, and minute and laborious research; and its execution is highly creditable to the author. Although the records of the place, for nearly a century after its first settlement, are lost, yet Mr. Bradbury has been enabled, from the observations of early travellers and journalists, and the scattered notices in the colonial and provincial records, to compile a chronicle abounding with incidents full of interest to the citizens of that State, and which will be of essential service to any one who shall presume, after the excellent History of Judge Williamson, to write its annals. He has also gathered many facts from the fading memories and vanishing traditions of the oldest inhabitants, and gleaned much from time-worn and almost illegible manuscripts. The work was originally prepared and presented to his townsmen in a series of lectures; and they have given the strongest proof of their sense of its correctness and value, by authorizing the selectmen to subscribe for five hundred copies of it, to be distributed among the families of the place.

Mr. Bradbury is of opinion, that Bartholomew Gosnold, who discovered New England, and named Cape Cod, in 1602, first made the land near Cape Porpoise, which was the original name of Kennebunk Port. This, however, is mere conjecture, unsupported by any evidence. He also says, that the name of Cape Porpoise was given to it, in 1614, by the famous John Smith, "probably, from seeing a shoal of porpoises in its neighbourhood." This assertion, too, we regret to say, is wholly gratuitous. Captain Smith makes no mention of any such cape, either in his "Description of New England," or in his "Ad-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New England."

There can hardly be a doubt that, from its favorable position, the place was soon occupied as a fishing station. It is impossible, however, to ascertain how early a settlement was made. Mr. Bradbury is disposed to believe, that it might be dated as far back as 1623 or 1624. It is certain, that the first permanent settlement took place in 1629, and Governor Winthrop speaks of Cape Porpoise in 1630, as a well-known landmark. It was incorporated by the government of Massachusetts as a township in 1653. In 1690, and again in 1703, it was laid waste by the Indians and French, and it was not till 1714 that the inhabitants ventured to return to their deserted settlements. In 1719, it was reincorporated under the name of Arundel, and, in 1821, it received its present name of Kennebunk Port, being at that time the second town in the State in wealth, ranking next to Portland in valuation.

Such are the prominent landmarks and dates in the history of the place. Religion and education seem to have been for a long time at a very low ebb in Cape Porpoise and "Poor Arundel." The great object of the inhabitants appears to have been, to obtain those commodities at the lowest possible rate. Thus, in 1719, a committee was appointed "to agree with John Eveleth, minister, for to carry on the work of the ministry with us, *for a quarter of a year next.*" The next year, they gave him "the sum of £50 for to dispense the word of God unto them for *one whole year*"; having previously "made his house comfortable for him to live in, and the people to meet in a Sabbath days." In 1729, being advanced in years, he asked a dismission, much to the regret of his parishioners, as he was not only their minister and schoolmaster, but a good blacksmith and farmer, and the best fisherman in the town. This versatile "working-man" graduated at Harvard College, in 1689.

The second minister of the town, Mr. Thomas Prentice, seems also to have been a practical and useful person; for he was the first to introduce potatoes into the town. As he declined, however, to pursue the multifarious callings of his predecessor, the town was compelled to incur the additional expense of an instructer; and it was accordingly "voted to have a schoolmaster for the year ensuing"; and "the selectmen employed Mr. Hicks for £2, 8s. 10d. for the year."

On the settlement of their third minister, Mr. John Hovey, he stipulated, "that the town keep up a contribution, and all money contributed and unmarked, to be his, over and above the salary; and what is marked, he will give credit for, towards the rates." In order to understand this, it is necessary to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mention a somewhat singular custom prevalent at that time in Maine. It was usual, when strangers attended church, to take up a contribution. The usage, instead of being considered an imposition, was deemed a compliment by said strangers, and the omission of it was sure to give offence. The money collected on such occasions, even if chiefly contributed by members of the parish, was considered as "strangers' contribution," and was generally given to the minister. But Mr. Hovey was only to have what was really given by strangers, allowing his parishioners to mark the pieces put in by themselves.

Mr. Hovey kept a diary from the time of his settlement, to his death, a period of thirty-three years, in which he noted every event that occurred in the town, the state of the weather, business, politics, news, births, deaths, marriages, affairs of the town, and matters relating to the church. It must have been a curious document, and would have furnished a complete history of the town during that period. But, unfortunately, the greater part of it is lost. In 1763 Mr. Hovey's church was set on fire, and entirely consumed. For some time it was considered an accident. There had been a lecture the afternoon previous, and Deacon Robinson was supposed to have set it on fire with his pipe.

Such are the simple annals of Cape Porpoise, "Poor Arundel," and Kennebunk Port. The village chronicler has done his work so faithfully, that we hope he will reconsider the resolution which he has avowed in his Preface, never to appear in the character of an author again. There are other portions of the early history of Maine, which need to be elucidated by the same sort of minute inquiry, and we trust, that ere long we shall meet him in the same field again.

---

9. — *An Address delivered before the Adelphi Union Society of Williams College, on Commencement Day, August 16th,* 1837. By Edward Everett. Amherst. 8vo.

This is another of those beautiful discourses by Mr. Everett, which would be enough to make quite a reputation for any other man, though it adds but little to the ample harvest already gathered by him. The inexhaustible fertility, which enables him to pour out, year after year, these admirable specimens of deliberative eloquence, the last, apparently, as fresh and vigorous as the first, gives one a new illustration of the wonders which may be accomplished by a human mind, in which great native power has been developed by a life of min-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gled study and action. The subject of this address is the trite one of Education, and the speaker does not attempt the exposition of any new theories or plans of his own, but confines himself to the expansion and illustration of truths already received; but this is done with so much eloquence, so much taste, such wealth of allusion, and such grace of language, that every thing seems to wear the bloom of originality, and every paragraph appears the revelation of newly discovered truth.

After some very appropriate introductory remarks, Mr. Everett presents a brilliant and vivid summary of the results to which education has guided the well-trained mind, especially in the science of geology, and speaks of the great importance of education in its relation to the culture of the common mind. He then observes, that there are two distinct offices to be performed by education; one regarding the discipline and training of individual minds to the highest point of intellectual excellence, and the other, the diffusion of useful knowledge among the community at large.

In the discussion of the first part of his subject, Mr. Everett contends, with great strength of argument and beauty of expression, that, under more perfect systems of education, higher degrees of intellectual power and excellence may be attained, than have ever been witnessed among men; and, however one may be disposed to doubt the truth of the position, no one can help admiring the ability with which it is maintained. His remarks upon the favorable influence, which the progress of scientific truth is likely to exert upon poetry, seem to us as true as they are beautiful. We had marked them for extracting, but our exhausted space forbids.

Mr. Everett's observations upon the second part of his subject will be read with unalloyed pleasure. He presses home upon his audience, with unaffected eloquence, the duty incumbent on them, of thoroughly educating their children, whatever be the sacrifice and the cost; and, in the observations which he makes upon the duty of our State governments doing more for this great cause than they have heretofore done, he but expresses the views of all intelligent men who have reflected upon the subject. We wish, that this part of the address could be read by every legislator and every father in our country.

NOTE.

A passage occurring in the review of American Histories, in our last Number, bestows commendation on a work by the author of that article. He wishes to have it stated, that he had no agency in the insertion of that passage.

Several articles prepared for the department of Critical Notices of this Number are unavoidably deferred.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE AND GARDENING.

The American Flower Garden Companion. Adapted to the Northern States. By Edward Sayers, Landscape and Ornamental Gardener. Boston: Joseph Breck & Co. 12mo. pp. 179.

The Book of Fruits; being a descriptive Catalogue of the most valuable Varieties of the Pear, Apple, Peach, Plum, and Cherry, for New England Culture. With Plates. By Robert Manning. First Series, for 1838. Salem: Ives & Jewett. 12mo. pp. 120.

ANNUALS.

Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy of the United States, including Officers of the Marine Corps, for the Year 1838. Washington: Langtree & O'Sullivan. 8vo. pp. 79.

ARCHITECTURE.

Rural Residences, &c., consisting of Designs, original and selected, for Cottages, Farm-Houses, &c., with Explanations and Estimates. By Alexander Jackson Davis, Esq., and other Architects. New York: A. J. Davis.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D. D., Pastor of the West Church and Society, in Boston, from June, 1747, to July, 1766. By Alden Bradford. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 484.

Life of Timothy Dexter; embracing Sketches of the Eccentric Characters that composed his Associates. By Samuel L. Knapp. Boston: G. N. Thompson. 18mo. pp. 108.

Lives of Baron Steuben, Sebastian Cabot, and William Eaton. Being Vol. IX. of Sparks's American Biography. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 16mo. pp. 358.

Memoirs of Mrs. Sarah Louisa Taylor; or, An Illustration of the Work of the Holy Spirit in awakening, renewing, and sanctifying the Heart. By L. Jones, A. M. New York: J. S. Taylor. 12mo.

The Unpublished Letters and Correspondence of Mrs. Isabella Graham, from the year 1767 to 1814, exemplifying her Religious Character in the different Relations of Life. Selected and arranged by her Daughter, Mrs. Bethune. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 314.

Memoir of Hannah Hobbie; or, Christian Activity and Triumph in Suffering. By the Rev. Robert Armstrong, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Fishkill. New York: John S. Taylor.

Memoir of the Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, who was murdered in Defence of the Liberty of the Press, at Alton, Nov. 7th, 1837. By Joseph C. and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Owen Lovejoy; with an Introduction, by John Quincy Adams. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo.

The Life of Joseph Brant, (Thayendanegea,) the Great Captain of the Six Nations. By William L. Stone. New York: George Dearborn & Co. 8vo. 2 vols.

EDUCATION.

Mental and Practical Arithmetic. Designed for the Use of Academies and Schools. With a Key. By C. Davies. Geneva (N. Y.): I. & I. N. Bogert. 18mo. pp. 288.

The Girl's Reading Book, in Prose and Poetry. For Schools. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. New York: J. Orville Taylor. 18mo. pp. 242.

A New French Manual; comprising a Guide to French Pronunciation. By Gabriel Luzenne. From the 4th Edinburgh Edition, revised and enlarged, by A. Pestiaux, Professor of the French Language. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 18mo.

M. T. Ciceronis ad Quintum Fratrem Dialogi tres de Oratore. Ex Editionibus Oliveti et Ernesti. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ. Curâ C. K. Dillaway, A. M. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 2 vols. 18mo.

A System of Universal Geography, Popular and Scientific; comprising a Physical, Political, and Statistical Account of the World and its various Divisions; embracing numerous Sketches from recent Travels; and illustrated by Engravings of Manners, Costumes, Curiosities, &c., &c. By S. G. Goodrich. Second Edition. Boston. Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 8vo. pp. 975.

Cheever's Latin Accidence. An Elementary Grammar for Beginners in the Study of the Latin Language; compiled by Ezekiel Cheever, who was Seventy Years a Teacher of Latin; and used in the Schools in this Country for more than a Hundred and Fifty Years previous to the Close of the Last Century. Carefully revised, corrected, and stereotyped, from the Eighteenth Edition. Boston. For Sale by the Booksellers. 18mo. pp. 72.

Analytical Geography; a System of Teaching by Single Topics. By J. U. Parsons, Author of "The Analytical Spelling-Book," &c. Framingham: Boynton & Marshall. 16mo. pp. 86.

Questions adapted to Emerson's North American Arithmetic, Part Third. By Wm. D. Swan. Boston: James Loring. 16mo. pp. 33.

Lectures on Language, as particularly connected with English Grammar. Designed for the Use of Teachers and advanced Learners. By William J. Balch. Providence: B. Cranston & Co. 12mo. pp. 252.

Town's Spelling-Book. New York. Robinson, Pratt, & Co.

Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War, and the First Book of the Greek Paraphrase. With English Notes, Indexes, &c. By Charles Anthon, LL. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo.

A Philosophical Grammar of the English Language. By Jos. W. Wright. New York: 12mo.

The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings. By John Abercrombie, M. D., F. R. S. E. An Introductory Chapter, with Additions and Explanations, to adapt the Work to the Use of Schools and Academies; and also Analytical Questions for the Examination of Classes. By Jacob Abbott. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 250.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Elements of Trigonometry, Plane and Spherical. Adapted for the Use of Colleges in the United States. With a Treatise on Navigation, Tables of Logarithms, &c. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo.

HISTORY.

History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent. By George Bancroft. Third Edition. Vol. I. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 469.

Discourse, on the History and General Character of the State of Ohio, before the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society. By Timothy Walker. Columbus: 8vo. pp. 27.

LAW.

Trial for Libel before the Supreme Judicial Court, April 25th, 1838, Chief Justice Shaw presiding. Azell Snow, vs. John Ford and J. S. Sleeper. Boston: Cassady & March. 8vo. pp. 32.

A Popular Essay on Subjects of Penal Law, and on Uninterrupted Solitary Confinement at Labor, as contradistinguished to Solitary Confinement at Night and Joint Labor by Day, in a Letter to John Bacon, Esquire, President of the Philadelphian Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons. By Francis Lieber, Corresponding Member of the Society, Professor of History in South Carolina College. Philadelphia: 8vo. pp. 94.

Trial of Winthrop S. Gilman, who was indicted, with Others, for the Crime of Riot, while engaged in defending a Printing Press from an Attack made on it by an Armed Mob, &c. &c. By W. L. Lincoln, a Member of the Alton Municipal Court. New York: J. F. Trow. 12mo. pp. 158.

An Act for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors and for the more Equal Distribution of their Effects, passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, April 23d, 1838; with an Outline of the System thereby introduced, and Forms of Proceeding under the same. By L. S. Cushing. Boston. C. C. Little & James Brown: 12mo. pp. 93.

A Treatise on the Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity. By I. Ray, M. D. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 480.

Commentaries on Equity Pleadings, and the Incidents thereto, according to the Practice of the Courts of Equity of England and America. By Joseph Story, LL. D., Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 743.

Supplement to the Revised Statutes; being the General Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Session of 1838, and the Twelfth Article or Amendment of the Constitution, passed March 24th, 1837. Prepared and edited by Theron Metcalf. Published annually. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers. 8vo. pp. 114.

The Blue Laws of New Haven Colony; usually called Blue Laws of Connecticut; Quaker Laws of Plymouth and Massachusetts; Blue Laws of Virginia and South Carolina; First Record of Connecticut; Case of Salem Witchcraft; Charges and Banishment of Roger Williams, &c.; and other interesting Antiquities. Compiled by an Antiquarian. Hartford: 12mo. pp. 336.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Tree of Legal Knowledge, designed as an Assistant to Students in the Study of Law, &c. By an Attorney at Law. Raleigh: Turner and Hughes.

A full and arranged Digest of Cases decided in the Supreme Court and District Courts of the United States, from the Organization of the Government of the United States. By Richard Peters, Counsellor at Law, and Reporter of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. In Two Vols. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 722.

A Digest of the Cases Decided and Reported in the Superior Court of the City of New York; the Vice Chancellor's Court; the Supreme Court of Judicature; the Court of Chancery; and the Court for the Correction of Errors, of the State of New York; from 1823, *to October, 1836, with Tables of the Names of the Cases, and* of Titles and References; being a Supplement to Johnson's Digest. Philadelphia: E. F. Backus. 8vo. pp. 666.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

Lectures on Lithotomy, delivered at the New York Hospital, December, 1837. By Alexander H. Stevens, M. D. New York: Adlard & Saunders. 8vo. pp. 93.

Popular Medicine, or Family Adviser; consisting of Outlines of Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene, &c., &c. By Reynell Coates, M. D., Fellow of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, &c. &c., assisted by several Medical Friends. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 641.

The Medical Formulary; being a Collection of Prescriptions, derived from the Writings and Practice of many of the most eminent Physicians in America and Europe. By Benjamin Ellis, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy. Fifth Edition, with Additions. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 231.

Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of New York. Vol. IV. No. 1. Albany: 8vo. pp. 24.

The Institutes and Practice of Surgery; being the Outlines of a Course of Lectures, by Wm. Gibson, M. D., Professor of Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania, &c. Fifth Edition, enlarged. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 469 and 444.

The Annual Report of Dr. Francis Stribling, Physician of the Western Lunatic Hospital, &c. Stanton, (Va.): 8vo. pp. 19.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Inquiry respecting the Self-determining Power of the Will, or Contingent Volition. By Jeremiah Day, President of Yale College. New Haven: Herrick & Noyes. 12mo. pp. 200.

Letters from the West Indies, relating especially to the Danish Islands of St. Croix, and to the British Islands, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica. By Sylvester Harvey, Late Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Amherst College. New York: Gould & Newman. 12mo. pp. 212.

Humbugs of New York; being a Remonstrance against Popular Delusion, whether in Science, Philosophy, or Religion. By David Meredith Reese, M. D. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 267.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Etiquette for Ladies; with Hints on the Preservation, Improvement, and Display of Female Beauty. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 18mo. pp. 224.

Hints on the subject of Interments within the City of Philadelphia; addressed to the serious Consideration of the Members of Councils, Commissioners of Districts, and Citizens generally. By Atticus. Philadelphia: 8vo. pp. 22.

Phrenology Vindicated, and Anti-Phrenology Unmasked. By Chas. Caldwell, M. D. New York: Samuel Coleman. 12mo. pp. 156.

The Young Housekeeper, or Thoughts on Food and Cookery. By W. A. Alcott, M. D., Author of "The Young Wife," "Young Mother," &c. &c. Boston: G. W. Light. 16mo. pp. 424.

Scenes in a Mad House. By John B. Derby, Author of "Political Reminiscences." Boston: S. N. Dickinson. 8vo. pp. 24.

Home Scenes, or Progress made Easy. Boston: Joseph Dow. 16mo. pp. 80.

The McCarthy Family; or a Tale for "Our Sunday School." By the Author of "Rose Graham." Boston: B. H. Greene. 16mo. pp. 35.

An Inquiry into the Moral and Religious Character of the American Government. New York: Wiley and Putnam. 8vo. pp. 208.

The Young Man's Book of Classical Letters, consisting of Epistolary Selections, designed to improve Young Ladies and Gentlemen in the Art of Letter-Writing. By the Author of "The Young Man's Book." Philadelphia: Thomas Cowperthwait & Co. pp. 320.

Practical Phrenology Simplified. By Theodore Foster. Philadelphia: Orrin Rogers.

Hints for the Young, on a Subject relating to the Health of Body and Mind. From the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, with Additions by the Author. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. Worcester: H. J. Howland. 18mo. pp. 60.

Catalogue of the Library of the Theological Seminary in Andover, Mass. By Oliver A. Taylor, A. M. Andover: Gould & Newman. 8vo. pp. 531.

Atlantic Steam Ships. The Origin, Progress, and Prospects of Steam Navigation across the Atlantic. Illustrated by Engravings. New York: Wiley & Putnam.

The Works of Benjamin Franklin; containing several Political and Historical Tracts not included in any former Edition, and many Letters official and private, not hitherto published; with Notes, and a Life of the Author. By Jared Sparks. Vol. VII. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 8vo. pp. 568.

A Pickle for the Knowing Ones, or Plain Truths in a Homespun Dress. By the late Lord Timothy Dexter, with an Introductory Essay on his Life and Genius, and Explanatory Notes, by Peter Quince. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 16mo. pp. 42.

The American Democrat, or Hints on the Social and Civic Relations of the United States of America. By J. Fennimore Cooper. Cooperstown: H. & E. Phinney. 12mo. pp. 192.

Remarks on Literary Property. By Philip H. Nicklin, A. M., Member of the American Philosophical Society; of the Ashmolean Society, Oxford; and of the Natural History Society, Hartford. Philadelphia: P. H. Nicklin and T. Johnson. 12mo. pp. 144.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATURAL HISTORY.

Crania Americana; or a Comparative View of the Skulls of various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America; to which is prefixed an Essay on the Varieties of the Human Species, and on the American Race in particular. Illustrated by sixty Plates and a colored Map. By Samuel George Maston, M. D. Philadelphia: published for the Author, by J. Fuller. Folio.

Peter Parley's Cyclopedia of Botany, including Familiar Descriptions of Trees, Shrubs, and Plants; with numerous Engravings. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 16mo. pp. 104 and 330.

NEW PERIODICAL WORKS.

The Hesperian; or, Western Monthly Magazine. Edited by Wm. D. Gallaher and Otway Curry. Columbus (Ohio): John D. Nichols. 8vo. pp. 94. Vol. I. No. 1. May, 1838.

Boston Musical Gazette; a Semi-Monthly Journal, devoted to the Science of Music. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 4to. pp. 8.

The Musical Review, and Record of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence. Conducted by an Association of Gentlemen. New York: Firth & Hall. Weekly. 8vo. pp. 12.

The Olio, or Rarities of Knowledge. New York: Origen Bachelor, Editor and Publisher. Weekly.

The Buckeye Democrat. Edited by Le Grand Byington. Ravenna (Ohio): Weekly.

Tales of the Day, selected from the Works of the most distinguished English Authors, as they issue from the British Periodical Press. Boston: H. P. Nichols & Co. Weekly. 8vo. pp. 48.

Our Globe; a Universal Picturesque Album, Edited by J. Meyer. Philadelphia: published by the North American Bibliographic Institution. Weekly.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

A Blossom in the Desert, a Tale of the West. Founded on Fact. New York: Scofield & Voorhies. 18mo. pp. 32.

The Motley Book; a Series of Tales and Sketches, with Illustrations. By the late Ben. Smith. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. New York: James Turney, Jr. 8vo.

Hoaryhead, and the Valleys below, or Truth through Fiction. By Jacob Abbott, Author of "The Young Christian." Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 18mo. pp. 308.

Cromwell; an Historical Novel. By the Author of "The Brothers." New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 267 and 275.

The Victims of Gaming; being Extracts from the Diary of an American Physician. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 16mo. pp. 172.

The Mother in her Family; or Sayings and Doings at Rose Hill Cottage. By the Author of "The Young Wife," "The Young Housekeeper." &c., &c. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. New York: John S. Taylor. 16mo. pp. 391.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

Annual Address, delivered before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, December, 1835; containing Strictures on the prevailing Systems of Education. By John H. James. Columbus (Ohio): 8vo. pp. 13.

Address, delivered before the Graduates of the Union Literary Society of Miami University. By Samuel Galloway. Springfield (Ohio): 8vo. pp. 28.

On the Importance and Best Method of cultivating the Moral Faculties; delivered before the Education Convention of Indiana. By Andrew Wylie, D. D. Indianapolis: Douglas & Noel. 8vo. pp. 19.

Annual Address before the New York State Medical Society, Feb. 6th, 1838. By James McNaughton, M. D., President of the Society. Albany: 8vo. pp. 32.

A Succinct View of Mental Cultivation on the Destinies of Louisville; an Introductory Lecture, delivered at the opening of the Louisville Medical Institute, Oct. 31st, 1837. By Charles Caldwell, M. D. Louisville: 8vo. pp. 34.

An Address on the Utility of Astronomy, delivered before the Young Men's Society of Lynchburg, Sept. 26th, 1837. By Professor Landon C. Garland, of Randolph-Macon College. (Originally published, by Request of the Society, in the Southern Literary Messenger.) Richmond. T. W. White. 8vo. pp. 8.

An Eulogy on the Life and Character of Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., F. R. S., delivered at the Request of the Corporation of the City of Salem, May 24th, 1838. By Daniel Appleton White. Office of the Gazette. 8vo. pp. 72.

Annual Address delivered before the Albany Institute, April, 1838. By James Ferguson. Albany: Alfred Southwick. 8vo. pp. 34.

An Address, delivered before the Penobscot Association of Teachers, and Friends of Popular Education, at Levant, Dec. 28th, 1837. By E. G. Carpenter. Bangor. 8vo. pp. 26.

POETRY.

The Deserted Bride, and other Poems. By George P. Morris. New York: Adlard & Saunders. 8vo. pp. 80.

A Poem, on the Use of Tobacco, delivered before the Temperance Society of Orleans, Dec. 25th, 1837; and before the Anti-Tobacco Society of Harwich, Jan. 8th. By the Rev. Charles S. Adams, A. M. Boston: Torrey & Blair. 8vo. pp. 24.

St. Jonathan, the Lay of a Scald. New York: Thomas J. Crowen. 12mo. pp. 48.

Buds of Spring. Poetical Remains of Augustus Foster Lyde. With Addenda. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 12mo. pp. 150.

THEOLOGY AND SERMONS.

"A Man of Sorrows;" or, The Providence of God displayed. By William Jackson, S. S. B., Minister of the Gospel at South Boston. Second Edition, enlarged. Boston: C. D. Strong. 12mo. pp. 360.

Proof of the Genuineness of the Writings of the New Testament. For Intelligent Readers of all Classes. Translated from the German

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Dr. H. Olshausen, with Notes, by D. Fosdick, Jr. Andover: Gould & Newman. 12mo. pp. 216.

Letter to a Sunday School Teacher. By a Superintendent. Second Edition. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. pp. 27.

Newcomb's First Question Book. Vol. 2. Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 116.

A Scripture Text Book; comprising a concise View of the Evidences and Design of Divine Revelation, of the leading Events and Doctrines of the Bible, and of the Consistency and Harmony of its Parts. Designed for Bible Classes and Schools. By a Teacher. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 12mo.

Notes, Critical and Practical, on the Books of Joshua and Judges. Designed as a general Help to Biblical Reading and Instruction. By George Bush, Prof. of Hebrew and Oriental Literature in New York University. New York: E. French. 12mo.

The Voluntary System. A Discourse, delivered in St. John's Church, Brooklyn, on Sunday Afternoon, April 15th, A. D. 1838, the Day previous to the Annual Election of Wardens and Vestrymen. By Evan M. Johnson, Rector. Brooklyn: Arnold & Van Anden. 8vo. pp. 14.

"The House of the Lord." A Sermon, preached at the Consecration of St. Paul's Church, Randolph, April 18th, 1838. By the Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey, D. D., Bishop of Tennessee.

Christ the Theme of the Home Missionary. An Argument for Home Missions. By Octavius Winslow, Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. New York: John S. Taylor. 18mo. pp. 124.

A Leaf from the Tree of Life. No. 1. The Spirit and the Law of Christianity. New York: John S. Taylor. 18mo. pp. 66.

Advice to a Young Christian, on the Importance of aiming at an elevated Standard of Piety. By a Village Pastor. With an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, N. J. New York: John S. Taylor. 18mo. pp. 196.

A Manual of Prayers, designed to assist Young Christians in learning the Subjects and Modes of Devotion. With an Introduction, by the Rev. Albert Barnes. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 18mo. pp. 256.

Observations on the Growth of the Mind; with Remarks on some other Religious Subjects. By Sampson Reed. Boston. Otis Clapp. 12mo. pp. 19.

Traits requisite in the Character of Modern Reformers. A Sermon, delivered on the Annual Fast, April 5th, 1838. By Theophilus P. Doggett, Pastor of the First Church in Bridgewater. Published by Request. Boston: Isaac R. Butts. 8vo. pp. 19.

A History of the Corruptions of Christianity. By Joseph Priestley, LL. D. In some Parts abridged, with Appendixes, by A. A. Livermore. Keene: J. & J. W. Prentiss. 12mo. pp. 312.

The Varieties of Human Greatness. A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Hon. Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., F. R. S.; delivered in the Church on Church Green, March 25th, 1838. By Alexander Young. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 119.

Characteristics of the Times. A Sermon, preached in Bangor, on the Day of Annual Fast, April 12th, 1838. By T. Maltby, Pastor of the Hammond Street Church. Bangor: E. F. Duren. 8vo. pp. 30.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Antidote; or, The Ministry worth Preserving. By Parsons Cooke. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 18mo. pp. 84.

Union; or, The Destinies of the World in the Hands of the Church. By J. F. Halsey. New York: John S. Taylor.

Efficiency of Primitive Missions. A Discourse, delivered before the General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States, at its Ninth Triennial Session. By Baron Stow, Pastor of the Church in Baldwin Place. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 8vo. pp. 39.

The Convert's Guide, and Preacher's Assistant. In Two Parts. By the Rev. T. Merritt, Author of "The Christian Manual." Boston: D. S. King. 16mo. pp. 246.

Papal Rome identified with the Great Apostasy predicted in the Scriptures; the Substance of three Discourses, addressed to the First Presbyterian Church in Albany, January, 1838. By J. N. Campbell, D. D., Pastor of the Church. Second Edition. Albany: E. H. Pease. 18mo. pp. 105.

Explanatory and Practical Views of the Atonement. By Octavius Winslow, Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Brooklyn. New York: John S. Taylor. 18mo. pp. 248.

The Reign of Grace, from its Rise to its Consummation. Philadelphia: Joseph Wetham. 12mo. pp. 335.

Christian Confidence, illustrated in the Death of the Rev. E. D. Griffin, D. D. By Gardiner Spring, Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, in the City of New York. New York: John S. Taylor. 18mo. pp. 55.

Modern Protestant Church Courts Unmasked. Providence: John E. Brown. New York: John S. Taylor. 16mo. pp. 154.

A New Translation of the Book of Job; with an Introduction, and Notes, chiefly explanatory. By George R. Noyes. Second Edition, with Corrections and Additions. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 212.

New England Sabbath School Question Book. Vol. I. Gospel of John. Boston: New England Sunday School Union. 18mo. pp. 108.

A View of the American Unitarian Missions, with Thoughts on the Missionary Cause, and the Interest of Unitarians in it. By A. C. Patterson. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 64.

The Principles and Results of the Ministry at Large in Boston. By Joseph Tuckerman. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 327.

The Catastrophe of the Presbyterian Church, in 1837; including a full View of the recent Theological Controversies in New England. By Zebulon Crocker, Delegate from the General Association of Connecticut to the General Assembly of 1837. 12mo.

The Churchman's Manual; an Exposition of the Doctrines, Ministry, and Worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. By the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, A. M., Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Thomas Latimer. 12mo. pp. 188.

"The Memory of the Just." A Sermon preached in the First Church on the Sunday after the Death of Joseph P. Bradlee, 25th February, 1838. By N. L. Frothingham, Minister of the Church. Published by Request. Boston: Munroe and Francis. 8vo. pp. 16.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Notes of the Buckingham Lectures; embracing Sketches of the Geography, Antiquities, and Present Condition of Egypt and Palestine; compiled from the Oral Discourses of the Hon. J. S. Buckingham. Together with a Sketch of his Life. By James Hildreth. New York: Leavitt, Lord, & Co. 18mo. pp. 266.

A Voyage round the World; including an Embassy to Muscat and Siam, in 1835, 6, and 7. By W. S. Ruschenberger, M. D., Author of "Three Years in the Pacific," &c., &c. *Philadelphia*: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 560.

Sketches of Paris; in Familiar Letters to his Friends. By an American Gentleman. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 320.

Emancipation in the West Indies. A Six Months' Tour in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, in the year 1837. By J. A. Thome and J. Horace Kimball. New York: American Anti-Slavery Society. 12mo. pp. 489.

Great Britain, France, and Belgium. A short Tour in 1835. By Heman Humphrey, D. D., President of Amherst College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols.

Sketches of Martha's Vineyard, and other Reminiscences of Travel at Home, &c. By an inexperienced Clergyman. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 207.

Sketches of Rochester and Western, (N. Y.) By Henry O'Reilly. Rochester: W. Alling. New York: Collins, Keese, & Co.

Gleanings in Europe. Italy. By an American. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 252 and 248.

Travels in Europe; viz. in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Italy, &c. By Wilbur Fisk, D. D., President of the Wesleyan University, Middletown. With Engravings. Fourth Edition. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 688.

Journal of an Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains, under the Direction of the A. B. C. F. M., performed in the years 1835, '36, and '37; containing a Description of the Geography, Geology, Climate, and Productions, and the Number, Manners, and Customs of the Natives. With a Map of Oregon Territory. 12mo.

Democracy in America, by Alexis de Tocqueville, Avocat à la Cour Royale de Paris, &c. &c. *translated* by Henry Reeve, Esq., with an original Preface and Notes, by John C. Spencer, Counsellor at Law. New York: George Dearborn & Co., Adlard & Saunders. 8vo. pp. 464.

Poetry of Travelling in the United States, by Caroline Gilman, with Additional Sketches, by a few Friends; and A Week among Autographs, by the Rev. S. Gilman. New York: S. Colman. 12mo. pp. 430.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS

OF

No. CI.

ART. PAGE

I. COMMON SCHOOL EDUCATION 273

1. The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Chapter Fifth.

2. The Revised Statutes of Massachusetts.

3. An Act authorizing the Establishment of District School Libraries.

4. An Act to establish a Board of Education.

5. An Act concerning Schools.

6. First Annual Report of the Board of Education, with the First Annual Report of the Secretary.

7. Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education, on the Subject of School Houses, supplementary to his First Annual Report.

8. Report on Elementary Public Instruction in Europe. By C. E. STOWE.

9. Report and Resolves relative to qualifying Teachers of Common Schools.

10. Abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns, for 1837.

11. Resolves relative to qualifying Teachers for Common Schools.

II. SPARKS'S LIFE AND WRITINGS OF WASHINGTON . 318

The Writings of GEORGE WASHINGTON; being his Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and Other Papers, Official and Private, selected and published from the Original Manuscripts, with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations. By JARED SPARKS.

III. AMERICAN HEALTH CONVENTION 381

Proceedings of the American Health Convention, assembled in Boston, May 30th, 1838.

IV. EMBASSIES TO EASTERN ASIA 395

1. Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin-China, Siam, Muscat, in the United States Sloop of War Peacock, David Geisinger, Commander, during the Years 1832–3–4. By EDMUND ROBERTS.

2. A Voyage round the World; including an

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Embassy to Muscat and Siam, in 1835–37. By W. S. W. Ruschenberger.
3. Outline of a Consular Establishment for the United States of America in Eastern Asia.

V. Kenrick's American Orchardist 423
The New American Orchardist. By William Kenrick.

VI. Lieber's Essay on Penal Law 452
A Popular Essay on Subjects of Penal Law and on Uninterrupted Solitary Confinement at Labor. By Francis Lieber.

VII. Probus 464
Probus, or Rome in the Third Century. In Letters from Lucius M. Piso, from Rome, to Fausta the Daughter of Gracchus, at Palmyra.

VIII. Dewey's Discourses. 469
Moral Views of Commerce, Society, and Politics, in Twelve Discourses. By Orville Dewey.

IX. Kingsley Historical Discourse 480
A Historical Discourse before the Citizens of New Haven, April 25th, 1838, the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the First Settlement of the Town and Colony. By James L. Kingsley.

X. Critical Notices.
1. Historical Sketches of the Old Painters . . 485
2. Cooper's Homeward Bound 488
3. Writings of Mrs. Gilman 489
4. Joanna of Naples 491
5. Literary Addresses 493
6. Lieber's Political Ethics. 494
7. Records of Travel 495
8. Guizot on European Civilization 496
9. Wines on School Discipline 498
10. Hall on the Western States 499
11. Jewett's Passages in Foreign Travel . . . 501
12. Sketches of a New England Village . . . 502
13. Spencer's Edition of De Tocqueville . . . 503
14. Drake's Black Hawk 504
15. Morris's Poems 504

Quarterly List of New Publications 505

Index 513

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED